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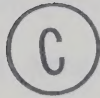




THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A STUDY OF THREE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF  
'TROILLUS AND CRISEYDE'

BY



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A THESIS

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## ABSTRACT

Medieval aesthetics demonstrate a great love for iconographic facade and gesture. This love established structural formulas to describe intellectual forms. The formulas made such an impression upon the minds of succeeding generations that they were continually used even when their original themes were replaced by more organic inspirations. This study attempts to isolate and define certain medieval and iconographic conventions and illustrate their adaptability to the expression of new forms of narrative and dramatic consciousness. The 'Troilus and Criseyde' story provides good material for this endeavor because it is a very popular matter in late medieval and early renaissance times in England. Moreover, there has been comparatively little research done in these specific terms on the specific works considered here, while there has been a great deal of work done in the general areas of medieval aesthetics and iconographic interpretation by men such as D.W. Robertson, Charles Muscatine, Jean Seznec, and Erwin Panofsky. Putting these two things together, a specific study in comparative aesthetics and the wealth of general information, has lead to this thesis and I hope a modest contribution to literary criticism.





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The purpose of this thesis is to examine the similarities and differences of the structures and themes in the three most closely related English renditions of the popular Troilus and Criseyde story. When I say "most closely related", I mean that, while Chaucer drew mainly upon the foreign sources of Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and Benoit de Ste.-Maure's *Roman de Troie* for the general outline of his story, Henryson composed *The Testament of Cresseid* under the direct influence of Chaucer's poem.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, according to an editor of *The History of Troilus and Cressida*, Daniel Seltzer, Shakespeare borrowed most of his basic material for the love plot from Chaucer's work as well as Henryson's final word on Cressida's character.<sup>2</sup> For his war plot, Shakespeare relied on Lydgate's *Sege of Troye* and Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*.<sup>3</sup> The editors of *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, William Allan Neilson and Charles Jarvis Hill, add Chapman's translation of Homer (Books I, II, VII-XI, XVIII) as a further source for the events depicted in the war plot.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, Shakespeare evidently shaped his play in terms of the plot structures he appreciated in the works of Chaucer and Henryson. In the following pages, I intend to compare and discuss the mutual influences brought to bear on this popular story by these three authors.

It is also my aim to compare the forms and aspirations of each work in relation to the age that saw them brought





into existence. The period between the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth century witnessed tremendous social and political changes in England. These changes, in turn, either reflected or created other more psychological changes registered in the products of the imagination and the forms of consciousness. Therefore, the exact date, or such as can be surmised, of each work is of some importance. Robinson centers Chaucer's long narrative poem in the approximate year of 1385.<sup>5</sup> Charles Elliott claims that Henryson's entire poetic canon can be placed only within the confines of 1460 to 1488, the years of the reign of the Scottish king, James III.<sup>6</sup> The earliest print of The Testament of Cresseid is found in William Thynne's London edition of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde in 1532.<sup>7</sup> And William Shakespeare's play, according to the editor of The History of Troilus and Cressida, Daniel Seltzer, was written and acted in the winter of 1602-1603. It was not printed in quarto form until January, 1609.<sup>8</sup> With these particular dates, and the corresponding works in front of me, I will make in my thesis some general, but brief, remarks about the underlying intellectual premises which directed the particular structural form of each work. Such books as Jean Seznec's The Survival of the Pagan Gods, Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl's Saturn and Melancholy, and E.M.W. Tillyard's The Elizabethan World Picture provided valuable help in this regard.



To carry out my intentions, I have divided the body of the thesis into three chapters. The first deals with Chaucer's poem, Troilus and Griseyde, the second with Henryson's poem, The Testament of Cresseid, and the third with Shakespeare's play, Troilus and Cressida. In the first chapter, I describe the use Chaucer makes of inorganic structural techniques. I talk about the employment of allegorical masks to define the quality of character and the limits of actions, as well as the display of the double scene technique with its representational and illustrative capacities. The use of direct interpolations of songs and philosophical perspectives is discussed also. In these several cases, I lean heavily upon the research of Robert Jordan, D.W. Robertson, and Charles Muscatine. The detailed description and discussion of inorganic structures in literature and the temperament of the minds that created them is treated in some detail by Robert Jordan in his book, Chaucer and the Shape of Creation.<sup>9</sup> D. W. Robertson's A Preface to Chaucer investigates the origins and uses of medieval aesthetics. And finally, Charles Muscatine's very literate book, Chaucer and the French Tradition, discusses the relationship between the development of different styles and modes of thought and their skillful assimilation into Chaucer's works.

In the second chapter, I investigate the relationship between Henryson's poem, The Testament of Cresseid, and Chaucer's narrative. I contend that Henryson uses several of





Chaucer's inorganic techniques (those found in Troilus and Criseyde and in other works by the same author). These techniques are simplified and employed to demonstrate a philosophy of determinism, not necessarily inimical to Christianity, but definitely denying some of the more benevolent of Christian tenets. In this respect, I differ from Denton Fox, an editor of a text of Henryson's poem, who asserts that Henryson is depicting the sin, purgation, and repentance of Cresseid.<sup>10</sup> His argument is good, but I begin my chapter with the emphasis on the role of the narrator rather than Cresseid. From this angle, the poem may be read as a tract upon the predestination of human actions and desserts. Furthermore, Denton Fox finishes his argument by referring to Cresseid's final repentance, where she commends her soul to "Diane" and the "waist woddis" (587-588).<sup>11</sup> He affirms that this means Cresseid is seeking heaven in the light of her reconciliation with the divine powers. I do not agree. In the first place, the parade of gods in Cresseid's dream are the only representatives of divine power, and they are malicious, as well as being time-bound natural forces. In the second place, I cannot see where Cresseid ever displays any intellectual awareness of her situation other than in the terms of an exhausted acceptance of unalterable conditions. Henryson's Cresseid is never at any time as fully aware or intellectual as Chaucer's Criseyde. And in the third place, "Diane" and the "waist





woddis" imply more hell than heaven. It is from a dark wood that Dante comes, before entering upon his journey of redemption. Moreover, Diane's mask is only one of the three faces of the moon goddess.<sup>12</sup> As Diane, the moon governs the earth, and in this poem, the earth appears to be a kind of time-bound underworld of lost souls. The image of the leper house retains this effect. Therefore, I believe my argument may be more valid than Denton Fox's in this particular.

In the third chapter of my thesis, I contrast and compare the manner and depth of Shakespeare's debt to Chaucer and Henryson. E.M.W. Tillyard's The Elizabethan World Picture gives a good account of medieval forms and ideas still very important to an Elizabethan man's concepts of good order in public and private affairs. S.L. Bethell's Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition describes the presence and use of allegorical figures in Troilus and Cressida. I developed my ideas concerning the theme with the help of Northrop Frye's The Fools of Time and Jan Kott's Shakespeare Our Contemporary.

Chaucer, Henryson, and Shakespeare deal with the problems of appearance and reality, and of time and eternity, in terms of the aesthetic values of their day and the experience they acquired in pursuit of their literary skills. The images they employ to represent the different patterns of the senses and the intellect shape different forms from the same material. By means of the epilogue of Troilus and Cressida, Chaucer impresses his readers with the idea that his poem is

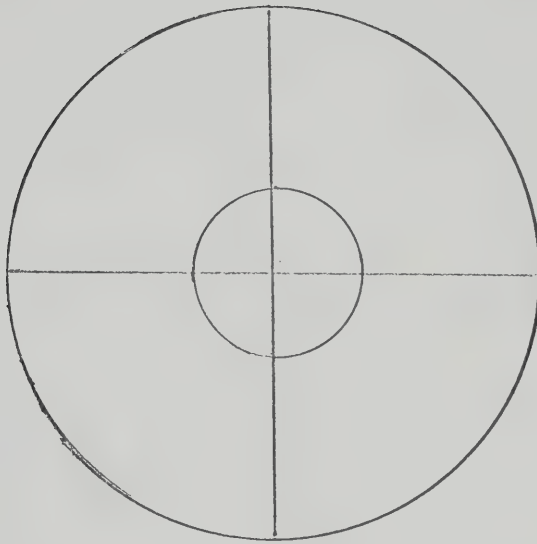


a little world reflecting the "faine world" of God's creation. Troilus and Criseyde is on one level, a model or exemplar of the Boethian perspectives built into the cosmos and leading to God in eternity.<sup>13</sup> Henryson's poem, on the other hand, is an allegorical frieze of character and action meant to demonstrate a philosophic idea, beginning and ending in the consciousness of his narrator. The form of the poem indicates its time-oriented limitations. Within these same limitations, Shakespeare confines the actions and personages of his play. The interplay of the circle images concerning love and war, nature and fortune, conform to the parabolic form of the rising and falling tragic action. The progressive nature of the theme strains the traditional and well-known plot structure of the Troilus and Cressida story. The hero's perspective remains earthbound with no shift to an objectivity outside of time. In this respect Shakespeare is very modern.

Howsoever this might be, this thesis seeks to measure, in some part, the debt Shakespeare's modernity owes to medieval conventions. And at this point, I will begin.







(1) The structural components of the narrator's individuality are the key to understanding the operation of Chaucer's narrative technique and the relationship between form and content in Troilus and Criseyde.<sup>1</sup> This individuality is always between the reader and the story. The reader understands the story in terms of how the narrator understands the story. The narrator's understanding is informed by the several aspects of his character which, as structural images, make up four allegorical masks. Each mask represents a different point of view. Together these masks define the narrator's consciousness, the relationship between his sensual perception and his conceptual reason, which allows him to communicate his feelings and his ideas. Although the roles that his masks represent are not









Of surquidrie and foul presumpcioun;  
 For kaught is proud, and kaught is debonaire.  
 This Troilus is clomben on the staire,  
 And litel weneth that he moot descenden;  
 But alday failleth thing that fooles wenden. (I, 211-217)

At other times he is cautious and moral like a figure for Reason out of a courtly romance. His avowed purpose is "To prey for hem that Loves servauntz be, / And write hire wo, and lyve in charite" (I, 48-49):

Forthy ensample taketh of this man,  
 Ye wise, proude, and worthi folkes alle,  
 To scornen Love, which that so soone kan  
 The fredom of youre hertes to hym thralle;  
 For evere it was, and evere it shal byfalle,  
 That Love is he that alle thing may bynde,  
 For may no man fordon the lawe of kynde. (I, 232-238)

The several identities of the narrator merge or separate naturally with only the content of his speeches or the mode of his discourse to provide any indications to his different points of view.<sup>3</sup> In this manner he becomes a "natural symbol" as Dorothy Sayers defines that term in her introduction to The Divine Comedy:

A natural symbol is not an arbitrary sign, but a thing really existing which, by its very nature, stands for and images forth a greater reality of which it is itself an instance. Thus an arch, maintaining itself as it does by a balance of opposing strains, is a natural symbol of that stability in tension by which the whole universe maintains itself....Thus, he [Dante] is accompanied through Hell, not by a personified abstraction called Reason or Wisdom, or Science, or Art, or State craft, but by Virgil the Poet, a real person, who is, by his own nature, qualified to symbolize all these abstractions.<sup>4</sup>

Chaucer's narrator becomes a natural symbol because he is the vertex for several personified abstractions, or





allegorical masks. His subjective consciousness is revealed by the juxtaposition of his objective identities. The poem evolves out of the interplay between these two structural polarities of the narrator's individuality. Through him, the story can be read on three levels of understanding: historical, allegorical, and moral. Historically, the narrator describes the fall of Troilus and the fall of Troy. Allegorically, he creates Troilus' fall in the image of that original and archetypical fall of Adam and Eve. The proper order of reason, will and appetite is turned upside down. Morally, he defines that fall in philosophic terms. Chance turns the wheel of Fortune and decides Destiny.<sup>5</sup>

The double plot of the poem functions on the historical level. The narrator is telling a story whose beginning, middle, and end is well known. The particular and general parts of the double plot form a static and circular pattern. The form is made in the image of the medieval idea of tragedy<sup>6</sup>:

The double sorwe of Troilus to tellen,  
That was the kyng Priamus sone of Troye,  
In lovyng, how his aventures fellen  
Fro wo to wele, and after out of joie (I, 1-4).

This image of tragedy involves a pagan story, and therefore the classical pattern of history: a ceaseless repetition of similar events.<sup>7</sup> Troilus desires and obtains the love of Criseyde whose faithlessness brings about his sorrowful destiny. Paris, in a parallel manner, desires and obtains



Helen whose faithlessness brings about the war and the destruction of Troy.

On the allegorical level of understanding, the narrator strives to explain this classical pattern of history in terms of the medieval idea of tragedy. He attempts to provide his rational understanding of historical facts with the added insight of his sensual perceptions. Therefore, he takes incidents from a far past and brings them into the present by dressing them in contemporary clothes. As a Christian, he selects from its aetiological doctrines an archetypical emblem to give direction and meaning to his pagan history. The story of Adam and Eve represents a plot paradigm that may be found at the heart of every unique historical event.<sup>8</sup> The narrator has Troilus, Criseyde, and Pandarus replace Adam, Eve, and the Serpent. The relationships of the latter are recognized in the actions designed in the stylized moves of a courtly love allegory. This allegory draws the tragic circle which is the particular plot. It relates the particular to the general circumference of the double plot in that the medieval dress of courtly love is extended to the social and military class representing the Trojan warriors and their women.<sup>9</sup> Thus Troilus is a Courtly Lover in the particular plot and a Knight in the general plot.

On the moral level of understanding, the narrator assigns another allegorical pattern to the social cast of the general plot. It represents the drama in philosophic





terms. Here Troilus assumes an image for Destiny which corresponds to his other images as a Courtly Lover and as a Knight. The image of Courtly Lover determines Troilus' actions wherein his reason becomes subjugated by sensuality. The image of Knight provides a code of moral and civic duties that conflict with Troilus' desires of the heart. This conflict defines his image as the agent of Destiny.

Allegory has been defined as "the interpretation of experiences by means of images",<sup>10</sup> but in this poem it is the interpretation of action as well. An allegorical image indicates a particular role which determines the actions that result from it. The subjective being of every character, the narrator included, is defined by the objective and allegorical images, or identities, he is given. The two allegories, that of Courtly Love, and that of Boethian philosophy, are circular in form in so far as they represent the destiny or end of each protagonist, and linear in form in so far as they represent sequential actions. In their sequential form, these lines of action link the particular with the general. They create the spatial dimensions of the poem by posing the theme as a conflict between a lateral representation of sensual desires with a vertical representation of philosophic desires. The intersection of these two linear forms has its center in the particular plot but reaches in its extremities to the general plot. In effect, these allegories represent the lines of action, or the means, which support



the circular ends that they determine. For example, Troilus' image as a Courtly Lover provides him with a set of actions which, when crossed with his role as a Knight, design him as an example of human Destiny. In so far as he is a microscopic example of a macroscopic society, his particular destiny becomes the emblem of the general fate determined by this society.<sup>11</sup>

The resolution of this poem, the naturalistic and allegorical statements about human destiny, are translated to the moral level of understanding by the narrator. He coordinates, through his several identities, the means with the ends.<sup>12</sup> As historian, he states the basic historical facts of the Trojan war. As observer, he describes the events of the particular plot and relates them to the historical part of the plot. As the cautionary Reason, he comments on the activities of the courtly lovers, and as the Boethian Reason, he comments on their violations of the cosmically ordained order. A real spatial distance of miles and a real temporal distance of centuries separates him from his story. But his ability to clothe his rational conceptions in perceptual forms makes him a kind of Boethian fate, a consciousness, that understands "particular things in motion once they have been given their own forms, places, and times."<sup>13</sup> The manner in which the narrator can juxtapose the past with the present transforms this poem into an image of time that is a reflection of Chaucer's



contemplation of eternity. The poem is a structural microcosm of the macrocosmic universe.<sup>14</sup>

To underline this fact in a structural manner, Chaucer introduces himself in the epilogue.<sup>15</sup> Here he represents the anagogical level of historical understanding. He is a simulacrum for Providence to whom everything is present in a complete and simple vision.<sup>16</sup> Thus the pagan Troilus is vindicated in his moral rectitude and glances down from the eighth sphere:

And in hymself he lough right at the wo  
Of hem that wepten for his deth so faste;  
And dampned al oure werk that foloweth so  
The blynde lust, the which that may nat laste,  
And sholden al oure herte on heven caste. (V, 1821-1825)<sup>55</sup>

Thus the mutability of time is compared to the stability of eternity and the Boethian and rational narrative is focused by a Christian and revealed truth:

Swich fyn hath, lo, this Troilus for love!  
Swich fyn hath al his grete worthynesse!  
Swich fyn hath his estat real above,  
Swich fyn his lust, swich fyn hath his noblesse!  
Swich fyn hath false worldes brotelnesse!  
And thus bigan his lovyng of Criseyde,  
As I have told, and in this wise he deyde.

O yonge, fresshe folkes, he or she,  
In which that love up groweth with youre age,  
Repeyreth hom fro worldly vanyte,  
And of youre herte up casteth the visage  
To thilke God that after his ymage  
Yow made, and thynketh al nys but a faire  
This world, that passeth soone as floures faire.

And loveth hym, the which that right for love  
Upon a crois, oure soules for to beye,  
First starf, and roos, and sit in heven above;





For he nyh falsen no wight, dar I seye,  
That wol his herte al holly on hym leye.  
And syn he best to love is, and most meke,  
What nedeth feynede loves for to seke? (V, 1828-1848)



(2) In his different roles, the narrator uses several kinds of structural methods to establish and realize his characters in terms of his three historical levels of understanding. He is fond of employing a double scene technique in which he contrasts a literal and naturalistic scene with its allegorically directed double. For example, in Book I, there are two scenes describing how Troilus falls in love with Criseyde. The first scene is set forth in the stylized language indigenous to courtly romances. This is one aspect of the "high style", defined by Charles Muscatine, and, in some degree, always used by the narrator whenever he brings Troilus into the action.<sup>17</sup> When the "God of Love" strikes down Troilus with bow and arrow (209-210), his allegorical image as Courtly Lover states unequivocally how and why he will pursue Criseyde.<sup>18</sup> In this manner the narrator introduces the ethics of courtly love. The essential ideals of courtly love are service and faithfulness, and its primary relationship consists of a knight offering fealty to his lady in an upside down imitation of the feudal pattern of vassal and lord.<sup>19</sup> Thus the courtly love relationship is also an allegorical paradigm of the Adamic fall. In the replay of this scene, Troilus, "withinne the temple" goes "hym forth playinge", sees Criseyde, looks into her eyes, and begs "mercy" in wonder of her beauty (267-280). This action is still in a high style but it is, by comparison, more naturalistic





and vital as if describing an actual event. The scene, itself, brings to the fore the narrator's medieval sense of history, where a courtly lover, and therefore a knight, can go courting in a temple. The image of knighthood introduces the corresponding idea of the chivalric ethic. Thus the double scene technique is sometimes employed to visualize the thematic conflict.

In formal structural terms, the first scene is an example of an "illustrative" narrative technique; it "attempts", as Jordan observes, "by symbolic means to remind us of selected aspects of reality". It is also used to indicate an allegorical level of understanding. The second scene is an example of what Jordan, following Huizinga, calls a "representational" narrative form and it "attempts to convey a total and convincing impression of the real world".<sup>20</sup> It is used to indicate the literal level of understanding. The narrator employs these two techniques by imposing upon them modulations of the high style. This has the effect of emphasizing the contrast between the two scenes. The first projects the reality that an idea or emotion has as a rational conception and the second projects the reality that a particular joy or sorrow has in the immediate and sensual perceptions of existence. In their structural method of presentation, these two scenes are both objective and inorganic. This fact is further indicated by the manner in which they are



separated. After the first scene, the narrator breaks in with a direct commentary on what is happening. He begins in the highest of high styles, perfectly tuned for his epic matter: "O blynde world, O blynde entencioun!" (211). In the next stanza he drops with a comic abruptness into the low or bourgeois, style, where he compares Troilus' plight with that of "proude Bayard" learning to bear the discipline of a harness.<sup>21</sup> The narrator, as Courtly Reason, focuses his commentary on "the lawe of kynde" (238). through the prism of style. Thus within this formal structure, he has made room for high seriousness and comic relief as well as intellect and sentiment.<sup>22</sup> When, as Observer, he describes the two scenes which appear at either end of this particular comment, the effect is to make them into allegorical and naturalistic emblems of a moral and philosophic concept.

The narrator's continuously objective approach constructs the naturalistic and sentimental aspects of the double plot into a corporeal reflection of intellectual speculations. Sentiment and naturalism are not there for their own sakes. At times, the narrator appears to forget this fact and becomes totally involved in the affairs of his protagonists. The involvement defines the gap between his rational conceptions and his subjective sympathies and provides him with an apparently naive unawareness for some of the philosophic complexities of his story. He is a



creature of time and he sees things in part and always sequentially. Thus the ironic aspect of his role is realized. Furthermore, through the variations of his style, as it focuses the identities of his mask, the narrator can relate to all his personages.<sup>23</sup> He can sympathize with Troilus and Criseyde and share Pandarus' enthusiasm for "bisynesse". Without the gap in his awareness, he would be either a courtly poet or a bourgeois poet, but never both, as he is here.

Throughout the poem, the objective and subjective sides of the narrator's individuality further develops the literal and allegorical levels of historical understanding with many repetitions of the double scene technique and its variations of style. There are two examples which remain vividly in my mind. For instance in Book II, Criseyde's attention is drawn twice towards Troilus' person. The first time, the scene is presented in a naturalistic but very high style. Criseyde looks upon Troilus and is, in a manner of allegorical speaking, stricken with love for him (610-644). "Who yaf me drynke?" she asks. Later on, from lines 1247 to 1280, the same scene is repeated in more naturalistic terms and the effect is meant to be more literal and realistic. In Book III, there are two scenes where the lovers meet to present their respective desires to one another. The first takes place when Criseyde goes to Troilus, who is sick in bed at his





brother, Deiphebus', house, to request his protection against some mythical enemies created in Pandarus' unscrupulous and manipulating mind (50-203). This scene is quite realistic in comparison with its mate. There, Troilus arrives to kneel at Criseyde's bedside, situated in Pandarus' house, and beg her to love him as her chosen knight and paramour (750-1365). This scene begins in the high style naturalism associated with Troilus, but it ends in the even more naturalistic and bourgeois style associated with Pandarus. He initiates the graphic part of the great love scene by physically picking up and flinging the too courtly Troilus into bed with Criseyde. In both of the above mentioned sets of double scenes, Pandarus represents the comic relief built directly into the action.<sup>24</sup> Troilus and Pandarus reflect the structural polarities of seriousness and comedy in the narrator's comments. These comments are scattered among the different scenes to point out the parallels between emblems for rational conceptions and those realizing the immediacy of sensational perceptions.

There is another important example of the double scene technique in the final book of the poem. Troilus' two death scenes are orchestrated to give the last shift of perspective from the moral to the anagogical level of historical understanding. Thus it is structurally fitting that the first scene is in the representational narrative form while the second is in the illustrative narrative form.



- (1) Gret was the sorwe and pleynte of Troilus;  
 But forth hire cours Fortune ay gan to holde.  
 Criseyde loveth the sone of Tideüs,  
 And Troilus moot wepe in cares colde.  
 Swich is this world, whoso it kan byholde:  
 In ech estat is litel hertes reste.  
 God leve us for to take it for the beste!

In many cruel bataille, out of drede,  
 Of Troilus, this ilke noble knyght,  
 As men may in thise olde bokes rede,  
 Was seen his knyghthod and his grete myght,  
 And dredeles, his ire, day and nyght,  
 Ful cruwely the Grekis ay aboughte;  
 And alwey moost this Diomede he soughte.

And ofte tyme, I fynde that they mette  
 With bloody strokes and with wordes grete,  
 Assayinge how here speres weren whette;  
 And, God it woot, with many a cruel hete  
 Gan Troilus upon his helm to bete!  
 But natheles, Fortune it naught ne wolde,  
 Of cothers hond that eyther deyen sholde. (V, 1744-1764)

- (2) And whan that he was slayn in this manere,  
 His lighte goost ful blisfully is went  
 Up to the holughnesse of the eighthe spere,  
 In convers letyng everich element;  
 And ther he sough, with ful avysement,  
 The erratik sterres, herkenyng armonye  
 With sownes ful of hevenysssh melodie.

And down from thennes faste he gan avyse  
 This litel spot of erthe, that with the se  
 Embraced is, and fully gan despise  
 This wrecched world, and held al vanite  
 To respect of the pleyn felicite  
 That is in hevене above; and at the laste,  
 There he was slayn, his loking down he caste.

And in mynself he lough right at the wo  
 Of hem that wepten for his deth so faste;  
 And dampned aloure werk that foloweth so  
 The blynde lust, the which that may nat laste,  
 And sholden aloure herte on heven caste.  
 And forth he wente, shortly for to telle,  
 Ther as Mercurye sorted hym to dwelle. (V, 1807-1827)





Another structural method, the one the narrator uses to illustrate the ethical conflict in his characters, particularly Troilus, is the insertions of material from one source into a new context. Such insertions are made directly and with little change, so as to call the reader's attention to them. They provide another way to shift the perspective ironically from the literal and allegorical levels of understanding to the next level of moral understanding. For example, in Book I, Troilus composes several verses, the "Canticus Troili"(400-420), embodying the confusion of love sickness, which is the initial emotional response of the courtly lover. These verses are a fairly direct translation of Petrarch's sonnet, "S'amor non è," [Canzoniere, 132].<sup>25</sup> They focus Troilus' sensual perceptions in Petrarch's vision of the nature of love. In the great love scene of Book III, this thematic motif is taken up again. Troilus takes Criseyde in his arms, and, in honor of their love, he recites a paraphrased lyric originally written by Dante in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The lyric (1254-1274), which begins with "O Love, O Charite!", underlines the comic gap between Troilus' high seriousness and his carnal situation, while, at the same time, it emphasizes the reversal of the orthodox moral order.<sup>26</sup> At the end of Book III, lines 1744 to 1771, Troilus gives another unconsciously ironic speech on the power love has to order all things in the universe. The narrator borrows this speech



almost verbatim from Book II, meter 8 of the Consolation of Philosophy. There, the meter illuminates the process by which the simplicity in God's mind is translated into the complexities of the physical cosmos. Here, Troilus' version becomes a parody of Boethius' ideas. Troilus bases his rational conceptions upon an idea of love ascertained by his sensual perceptions. If his kind of love became the ordering principle of the universe, "... all that is now joined in mutual love would wage continual war, and strive to tear apart the world which is now sustained in friendly concord by beautiful motion."<sup>27</sup> He, unwittingly, would turn the world upside down, or so the narrative technique implies.<sup>28</sup>

In Book IV, Troilus' moral confusion reaches its apex. Here he gives a long monologue on free will and predestination (953-1085), which centers, in philosophic terms, the resolution of Troilus' destiny. He paraphrases and purposely misunderstands Boethius' arguments as they are presented in Book V. Because he bases his rational conclusions about some absolute truths upon evidence verified only by his senses, he confines himself to a time-oriented perspective. From the particular he deduces the design of the whole. Then he assumes that the necessity imposed upon things sub-lunar must also be imposed upon God:

"And over al this, yet sey I more herto,  
That right as whan I wot ther is a thyng,  
Iwys, that thyng moot nedfully be so;



Ek right so, whan I woot a thyng comyng,  
 So mot it come; and thus the bifallyng  
 Of thynges that ben wist bifore the tyde,  
 They mowe nat ben eschued on no syde." (IV, 1072-1078)

The narrator, in spite of the distance of time and space, sympathizes with Troilus' argument. He too cannot conciliate his rational theories with the sensual evidence. Thus it is left to Chaucer in the epilogue to imply Boethius' argument in a Christian guise. God in eternity, enjoys a perspective free from the confusions of time. For Him, the knowledge of past, present, and future is instantaneously in the present. His knowledge is not foreknowledge, but a vision of a neverchanging present. It does not make events happen, it merely recognizes them as they happen.<sup>29</sup> Men only apprehend or accept this kind of knowledge as revealed truth. In a suitable fashion, Chaucer ends his poem with prayer:

Thow oon, and two, and thre, eterne on lyve,  
 That regnest ay in thre, and two, and oon,  
 Uncircumscrip, and al maist circumscribe,  
 Us from visible and invisible foon  
 Defende, and to thy mercy, everichon,  
 So make us, Jesus, for thi mercy digne,  
 For love of mayde and moder thyn benigne.  
 Amen. (V, 1863-1869)





(3) The nature of love, which is the thematic content of Troilus and Criseyde, is developed by the interrelationships of the structural components and techniques.<sup>30</sup> Through this combination of structures, the particular affair between Troilus and Criseyde becomes an emblematic image representing the kind of disorder that is responsible for the fall of Troy.<sup>31</sup> The double tragedy results from an earthly misunderstanding of the "true" nature of love. Each of the characters, Troilus, Criseyde and Pandarus, fixes his attention on his own feelings rather than on the intellectual order and harmony which constructs the principles of their universe.<sup>32</sup> The allegorical images that define their individualities also define in what manner each of them mistakes an illusion of love for the real thing. Troilus confuses carnal love for celestial love. Pandarus, who is never confused, knows that love is only a game, and Criseyde sees love as a refuge from all that threatens her.

Troilus' first allegorical mask describes him as a Courtly Lover. In terms of its association with the Adamic paradigm, he represents Reason subjugating itself to the Senses. In terms of the stylistic features of courtly romances, he exchanges places with his beloved in an exact inversion of the feudal and hierarchial values. As a lover, he takes up a feminine role and begs "mercy" of his lady, who is in the male position to grant favors and



ask services.<sup>33</sup> The lover becomes passive and the beloved active in this figurative reversal. Therefore, when Troilus goes home, after falling in love with Criseyde at first sight, and lies on his bed embroidering time with the articulations of his emotions (I, 323-546), he is only carrying out the actions suitable to his role as a Courtly Lover.<sup>34</sup> There are several other examples of such actions. For instance, in Book V, after Troilus loses Criseyde, he wanders about the town, visiting places hallowed by Criseyde's former presence, like a man making a pilgrimage to a saint's shrine. He, then, spatializes time with the articulations of his memory:

Fro thennesforth he rideth up and down,  
 And every thyng com hym to remembraunce  
 As he rood forby places of the town  
 In which he whilom hadde al his plesaunce.  
 "Lo, yonder saugh ich last my lady daunce;  
 And in that temple, with hire eyen cleere,  
 Me kaughte first my righte lady dere." (V, 561-567)

Troilus' second allegorical mask describes him as a Knight. This image comes provided with a role determined by the moral and civic duties relevant to knighthood. When the issue of Criseyde's exchange for Antenor occurs (IV, 141-217), Troilus' role as Courtly Lover contradicts his role as Knight.<sup>35</sup> As a Courtly Lover, he dreads to lose his only good or even to cause her any pain:

"Yet drede I moost hire herte to perturbe  
 With violence, if I do swich a game;  
 For if I wolde it openly desturbe,  
 It mooste be disclaundre to hire name." (561-564)



As a Knight, he fears to neglect his civic duty:

"First, syn thou wost this town hath al this  
 warre  
 For navysshing of women so by myght,  
 It sholdo naught be suffered me to erre,  
 As it stant now, we don so gret unright." (549-550)

The contradiction between his two roles, renders Troilus helpless in the face of his destiny. In fact, it determines his third image as an agent of Destiny. Troilus retains his moral rectitude as a Knight and does not desert his city for a woman. His role as Courtly Lover reinforces this stance with its primary tenet enforcing faithfulness. Here is Troilus' personal tragedy. Criseyde, by her very nature, can not have the stability of his moral standards.<sup>36</sup> He confuses his love for an illusion (his idealization of Criseyde) with his desire to know the harmony of true order. Like him, the people of Troy mistake an illusion for reality. In the past, they did not pay their just dues to the gods and, in the present, they allow Paris to kidnap Helen. Thus they have determined the destiny Calcas is prophesying:

"For certein, Phobus and Neptunus bothe,  
 That makeden the walles of the town,  
 Ben with the folk of Troie alwey so wrothe,  
 That they wol brynge it to confusioun,  
 Right in despit of kyng Lamacaoun.  
 Bycause he nolde payen hem here hire,  
 The town of Troie shal ben set on - fire." (IV, 120-126)

Pandarus helps to bring about the double tragedy through his allegorical image as an agent of Chance. Because Troilus has subjugated his reason to his sensuality, he has turned





the true order of things upside down. Therefore Chance will rule Fortune and decide Destiny. Pandarus, as an agent of Chance, persuades Criseyde, his niece, to accept Troilus as her lover, and, unwittingly, decides Troilus' fate, when Criseyde proves unfaithful. In his courtly mask as Friend, Pandarus has the motive to act on Troilus' behalf, even to the extent of violating his trust as Criseyde's guardian and only male protector in the city of Troy<sup>37</sup>:

"And wostow why I am the lasse afored  
Of this matere with my nece trete?  
For this have I herd seyde of wyse lord,  
Has nevere man or woman yet bigate  
That was unapt to sufferen loves hate,  
Celestial, or elles love of kynde;  
Forthy som grace I hope in hire to fynde.

And for to speke of hire in specyall,  
Hire beaute to bithynken and hire youthe,  
It sit hire naught to ben celestial  
As yet, though that hire liste bothe and howthe;  
But trewely, it sate hire wel right nowthe  
A worthi knyght to loven and cherice,  
And but she do, I holde it for a vice.

Wherefore I am, and wol ben, ay redy  
To payne me to do yow this servyse;  
For bothe yow to plesse thus hope I  
Hereafterward; for ye ben bothe wyse,  
And konne it counseil kepe in swych a wyse  
That no man schal the wiser of it be;  
And so we may ben gladed alle thre." (I, 974-994)

In his social mask as Courtier, Pandarus has the necessary skills to organize an intrigue. His very success as a worldly and knowledgeable schemer, prevents him from being a successful courtly lover. He cannot bring to his ethical values the kind of earnest belief and high seriousness possible for Troilus.<sup>38</sup> In consequence, he misunderstands



the essential needs of the two people he wishes to serve. He sees that Troilus desires Criseyde and that Criseyde desires protection. What he does not see is Troilus' desires for an ideal of constancy:

"Syn God hath wrought me for I shal yow  
serve,-  
As thus I mene, he wol ye be my steere,  
To do me lyve, if that yow liste, or sterve,-"  
(III, 1290-1292).

Nor does he understand what is Criseyde's true desire. As she describes it to Troilus, it is a moral refuge as well as a physical one:

"For trusteth wel, that youre estat roial,  
No veyn delit, nor only worthinesse  
Of yow in wenre or torney martial,  
Ne pompe, array, nobleye, or ek richesse  
He made me to rowe on youre destress;  
But moral vertu, grounded upon trouthe,  
That was the cause I first hadde on yow routhe!"  
(IV, 1667-1673)

Therefore when he succeeds in bringing the two lovers together, he sets into action a chance occurrence which is "an unexpected event brought about by a concurrence of causes which had other purposes in view".<sup>39</sup> The narrator provides this definition with corporeal reality. On the night the two lovers meet at Pandarus' house, there is a violent storm that prevents Criseyde from leaving and that cloaks in secrecy her rendezvous with Troilus (III, 617-637).

The general plot reveals the tragic results of this operation of Chance. There, a corresponding "unexpected event" occurs. The Greeks offer to exchange Antenor, an



able warrior, for Criseyde, Calkas' daughter (IV, 134-147). The Trojan parliament accepts the offer gladly. Like Pandarus in the private sphere, they disregard the ethical arguments underlying the situation:

"Syres, she nys no prisonere," he seyde;  
 "I not on yow who that this charge leyde,  
 But, on my part, ye may eftsone hem telle,  
 We usen here no wommen for to selle." (IV, 179-182)

Like Pandarus, they determine destiny. Their decision returns to the town a traitor who will help realize Calkas' prophecy (IV, 197-210).

Criseyde is a pawn in the hands of such people and their illusions of power. In terms of her first allegorical image, she is a medieval Lady subject to the rule and protection of the male members of her family.<sup>40</sup> But her father, Calkas, is a traitor who betrays his city and deserts his daughter in order to go over to the Greek camp (I, 64-99). Then her uncle, Pandarus, persuades her to favor Troilus as a lover. At first she recoils from another breach of faith:

And seyde, "Allas, for wo! Why nere I deed?  
 For al this world the feyth is al agoon.  
 Allas! what sholden straunge to me doon,  
 When he, that for my beste frend I wende,  
 Ret me to love, and sholde it me defende?" (II, 409-413)

Soon her fear, carefully encouraged by Pandarus (II, 1464-1477), overcomes her reluctance, and she begins to see Troilus as a champion against a threatening and unstable world: "That wel she felte he was to hire a wal/Of stiel"





(III, 479-480).<sup>41</sup>

In terms of her second allegorical mask, Criseyde is the Rose in the timeless garden of courtly love.<sup>42</sup> Troilus creates her in the image of his own constancy:

Thus gan he make a mirour of his mynde,  
In which he saugh al holly hire figure;  
And that he wel koude in his herte fynde;  
It was to hym a right good aventure  
To love swich oon, and if he dede his cure  
To serven hir, yet myghte he falle in grace,  
Or ellis for oon of hire servantes pace (I, 365-371).

As in Troilus' case, Criseyde's two roles contradict one another. Her powerless position as a woman in a medieval society contrasts with the illusion of power that her position as Courtly Lady entails. Her womanly fearfulness conflicts with her sincere affections and she becomes the embodiment of time and change that will smash the idyll of Troilus' courtly illusions. In the end, Diomedes plucks Troilus' Rose and carries her off as befits a conqueror (V, 792-794).

The contradiction between Criseyde's roles defines her final allegorical image as a gift of Fortune. Her fear and longing for safety prevents her from being anything but an object that passes from hand to hand.<sup>43</sup> The ambiguity of her character develops directly from the pursuit of this illusion. She remains a beautiful reflection of a natural constancy in mutability:

But right as when the sonne shyneth brighte  
In March, that chaungeth ofte tyme his  
face,



And that a cloude is put with wynde to flighte,  
 Which overspreat the sonne as for a space,  
 A cloudy thought gan thorough hire soule pace,  
 That overspradde hire brighte thoughtes alle,  
 So that for feere almost she gan to falle. (II, 764-770)

On their journey in search of love, each of the protagonists, Troilus, Pandarus and Criseyde make up a design of illusions so real that the narrator cannot but apologize for his own part in it:

And if I hadde ytaken for to write  
 The armes of this ilke worthi man,  
 Then wolde ich of his batailles endite;  
 But for that I to writen first bigan  
 Of his love, I have seyde as I kan,-  
 His worthi dedes, whoso list hem heere,  
 Rede Dares, he kan telle hem alle ifeere-

Bysechyng every lady bright of hewe,  
 And every gentil womman, what she be,  
 That al be that Criseyde was untrewe,  
 That for that gilt she be nat wroth with me  
 Ye may hire giltes in other bokes se;  
 And gladier I wol write, yif yow leste,  
 Penelope's trouthe and good Alceste.

N'y sey nat this al oonly for thise men,  
 But moost for wommen that bitraised be  
 Thorough false folk; God yeve hem sorwe, amen!  
 That with hire grete wit and subtilte  
 Bytraise yow! And this comeveth me  
 To speke, and in effect yow alle I preye,  
 Beth war of men, and herketh what I seye!- (V, 1765-1785).

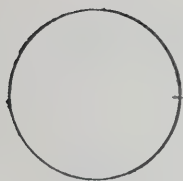
In the epilogue, Chaucer finishes the design, by stepping outside of its frame, and thereby, emphasizing the limits of its hierarchial perspectives. His envoi "Go, litel bok" (V, 1786) consigns his literary model to the flow of time. This anagogically relates the temporal action to the stillness of eternity. Behind the masks, which define the human personalities and their action,



there are intellectual essences not confined by their existence. In fact they are free because of their existence. Thus no corporeal perspective is exclusive.







(1) Structurally, Robert Henryson's The Testament of Cresseid is more simple than Chaucer's poem. In form, it is an allegory whose content describes, in the particular fate of Cresseid, the universal fate of those who are the gifts of Fortune. Henryson isolates this one aspect of Chaucer's *Criseyde* and develops, by means of images, its moral potential to the logical extreme.<sup>1</sup> To this end, he employs the structural technique of a narrator, whose one "I" projects the plot in a linear design and provides it with a philosophical interpretation. Therefore in spite of the objective narrative methods, the poem is constructed entirely within the subjective polarities of the narrator's mind. There is no release from the confines of this single consciousness as there is in Chaucer's poem. All the images within this structure are ornaments used to illustrate the theme. And thus the structure and theme are entwined and inextricable. The narrator's rational consciousness and the plot's sensual subject, contained one within the other, impose a sequential and unilateral design. The total effect is to make the poem an unchangeable icon, or picture, reflecting one man's



philosophic ideas masquerading as a traditional moral warning:

Now, worthie women, in this ballet schort,  
Maid for your worschip and instructioun,  
Of cheritie, I monische and exhort:  
Ming not your lufe with fals deceptioun.  
Beir in your mynd this schort conclusioun  
Of fair Cresseid-as I have said befoir;  
Sen scho is deid, I speik of hir no moir. (610-616)

This moral is an example of the language of the high style which is consistent with medieval tragedy.<sup>2</sup> The same style is used throughout the poem and knits the prologue and the plot together in a rational unity. In a similar manner, the allegorical images, connected with such a style, are employed as well.<sup>3</sup> But here, the two chief characters, the narrator and Cresseid, have only one allegorical image apiece, and therefore, they remain one dimensional characters. For instance, Henryson's narrator represents his personality and physical appearance as an objective image for the allegorical type, Reason. He describes himself as an old man and a former lover. This personification of age employs an ironic tone to tell about his "humbill reverence" (25) to Venus, wherein he asks her to restore him to the prowess of his youth when "the blude is flowing in ane rage (31):" But knowing that he must submit to the fate of all mortal creatures, he adapts himself to the operation of Fortune in the natural image of his own person and in his "chalmer to the fyre can pas" (28). In this manner the narrator indicates his rational



understanding of his place in a deterministic order of things.<sup>4</sup> The fact that he can reason about it gives him the capacity to adapt to it. Therefore when he warms the winter of his life with the physical comforts of "drink" (37) and books, he is ironically aware, in the sense of black comedy, of fulfilling a fate that he has, at least, partly chosen. From the quiet of this given fate he will describe his version of the true principle of order in the universe.

To carry out this purpose, the narrator decides to tell a story. He chooses an historic incident to provide the subject and the plot. From a tale written by Chaucer, "Of fair Creisseid and [lustie] Troylus" (42), and from "ane-uther quair" (61) as well, he telescopes his factual information and sums up the events of Cresseid's life from Troilus to the "court commoun" (77). From the latter "quair", he selects the plot form of his story: Cresseid's final and "fatal destenie" (62). Unlike Chaucer's narrator, he is not concerned with the historic facts<sup>5</sup> as he observes:

Quha wait gif all that Chauceir wrait was trew?  
 Nor I wait nocht gif this narratioun  
 Be authoreist, or fenyeit of the new  
 Be sum poeit, throw his inventioun  
 Maid to report the lamentatioun  
 And wofull end of this lustie Creisseid,  
 And quhat distres scho thoillit, and quhat deid. (66-70)

But Cresseid, as an emblematic value, has a great allegorical importance. She is an illustration for Henryson's, and therefore the narrator's, theory concerning the natural consequence





of process and decay within time. The poem is structured to reflect this theory. Therefore there is no hierarchial distancing between the narrator and his subject, as there is in Chaucer's poem, but a conscious intention of destroying any temporal space between them. In this poem the uniqueness of historic time is eliminated because the narrator ignores spatially hierarchial means for defining and measuring things of value. For Henryson, history is merely a recurring continuum in time. Incidents from the past are useful because they demonstrate their philosophic similarity with other incidents in the present. Thus the narrator employs his own image and that of his chief protagonist, Cresseid, as emblems of a time-oriented determinism. The purpose of the poem is to prove the relativity of historic incidents. And characters and actions are created as one dimensional elements within an allegorical frieze.

Beginning our analysis with reference to these general premises, one discerns, upon reading the prologue, the importance placed upon the narrator as the focal image and central point of view. It is he, who defines the terms of Cresseid's primary image and arranges her actions to verify Henryson's theory through the structure of the plot. What happens to her, as an image of the Senses and a gift of Fortune, is a particular incident describing a universal fact.<sup>6</sup> Cresseid, as a sensual gift of Fortune, is more



subject to the determined order of things than the narrator, as a figural type for Reason. Because she has no rational cognition, she has no choice, while the narrator, according to his place in the order of things, has at least some. Lines 89 to 91 express his understanding and interpretation, through allegorical images, of the ordering principle of the universe which is the arbitrary power of Fortune:

The [quhilk] Fortoun hes put to sic distres  
As hir plesit, and nathing throw the gilt  
Of the, throw wickit langage to be spilt.

Moreover, in this manner, Cresseid's allegorical image contrasts with that of the narrator's, and underlines their relationship within this order. They unite the prologue and the plot in their spatial images as head and body. The linear structure of the poem juxtaposes these images so as to destroy historical levels of understanding and represent the narrator's philosophic ideas as an emblem of time. The plot does not consist of action but of iconographic images for segments of action, which, when placed in a sequential pattern, determines the interpretation the narrator gives to his intellectual vision as well as illustrating that vision.<sup>7</sup> Cresseid's reproach to Venus and Cupide is such an action. It illustrates the narrator's conception of her general and primary image as a sensual gift of Fortune. There are two other actions which further describe Cresseid's role in the auxiliary images of Hate and then of Sorrow. The characteristics of these image-



actions could be borrowed from many sources but Chaucer's translation of The Romaunt of the Rose presents some likely traditional models.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note that Chaucer's images are found on the exterior side of the wall surrounding the courtly garden of love. On the exterior side of the wall time, process, and decay reign, whereas, behind the wall and in the garden, time has no jurisdiction and spring is always present. Henryson's poem places Cresseid outside of the garden of love. Here she laments her exclusion from the favored world of courtly lovers in descriptive terms equivalent to Chaucer's portrayal of the allegorical figure, Hate:

Amydde saugh I Hate stonde,  
That for hir wrathe, yre, and onde,  
Semede to ben a moveresse,  
An angry wight, a chideresse;  
And ful of gyle and fel corage,  
By semblaunt, was that ilk ymage.  
And she was nothyng wel arraied,  
But lyk a wod womman afraied,  
Yfrounced foule was her visage,  
And grennyng for dispitous rage;  
Hir nose snorted up for tene. (147-157)

Cresseid's iconographic actions match those of Chaucer's "wod womman". By throwing herself on her knees within the precinct of her father's temple and giving vent to her "dispitous rage", she expresses her "tene" in words that illustrate her lack of rational understanding:

'Ye gave anis ane devine responsaill  
That I suld be the flour of luif in Troy;  
Now am I maid ane unworthie outwaill,  
And all in cair translatit is my joy.' (127-130)





Following upon this action comes the parade of the planetary gods. Their condemnation of Cresseid is another image-action illustrating the natural consequences of all her wrong choices, or inability to choose, from Troilus to the "court commoun" (77).

For her next segmented action, Cresseid is given the attributes of Sorrow as described by Chaucer:

I trowe that no wight myght hir please  
 Nor do that thyng that myght hir ease;  
 Nor she ne wolde hir sorowe slake,  
 Nor comfort noon unto hir take,  
 So depe was hir wo bigonnen,  
 And eek hir hert in angre rennen.  
 A sorowful thyng wel sened she,  
 Nor she hadde nothyng slowe be  
 For to forcracchen al hir face,  
 And for to rent in many place  
 Hir clothis, and for to tere hir swire,  
 As she that was fulfilled of ire;  
 And al totorn lay eek hir her  
 Aboute hir shuldris here and ther;  
 As she that hadde it al torent  
 For angre and for maltalent....  
 To sorowe was she ful ententyf,  
 That woful reckeles caytyf;  
 Her roughte lytel of playing.  
 Or of clypping or kysyng,  
 For whoso sorouful is in herte,  
 Him luste not to play ne sterte,  
 Ne for to dauncen, ne to synge,  
 Ne may his herte in temper bringe  
 To make joye on even or morowe,  
 For joy is contrarie unto sorowe. (315-348)

With reference to this image, Cresseid expresses her "tene" once more in the formal language of a "Complaint" (407-469).<sup>9</sup> Here she recalls the lost delights of courtly love in terms that clearly place them among those things governed by Fortune: bliss, wealth, fair company, fame and honor, and a fine singing voice.<sup>10</sup> There is no "thyng that myght hir ease" and



Cresseid's gestures of grief provoke another leper into giving her the advice to "mak vertew of ane neid" (478). But Cresseid can never adapt to a fate she has never rationally understood. She can merely give actuality<sup>11</sup> to an imposed condition by describing it. In the end, she commends her spirit to Diane and a corporally realized vision of hell: 'My spreit I lief to Diane quhair scho dwellis,/To walk with hir in waist woddis and wellis' (587-588).<sup>12</sup>

Between making "vertew of ane neid" and Cresseid's death is the final image-action of the plot. It places Cresseid and Troilus in balance with one another. She is faithless, as is proper according to her image as a sensual gift of Fortune, and he is constant, as is proper according to his image as Reason.<sup>13</sup> He shares with the narrator a common iconographic male typography. Within this action, Cresseid receives alms from Troilus. She does not recognize him anymore than he recognizes her. However, Troilus does have a faint recollection of her familiar face, "That he sumtime her face befoir had sene" (500), and by association, he thinks of Cresseid. But "joy is contrarie unto sorowe" and Troilus does not connect this wretched leper with "his awin darling" (504).<sup>14</sup> Only after her death, when another leper brings a "royall ring" (582) to identify her, does he learn of Cresseid's fate. The memorial he sets up for her finishes this allegorical action and underlines how the images, in this instance, Cresseid and Troilus, determine



the structure and illustrate the theme:

Sum said he maid ane tomb of merbell grey,  
And wrait hir name and superscriptioun,  
And laid it on his grave quhair that scho lay,  
In goldin letteris, containing this messoun:  
'Lo, fair ladyis! Cresseid of Troyis town,  
Suntyme countit the flour of womanheid,  
Under this stane, lait lipper, lyis deid.' (603-609)





(2) The theme of this poem, the fate of those who are gifts of Fortune, is ironic in that the tragic form is used to display the principle of determinism in the universe. The images in the last action, concerning Troilus and Criseyde, contrast with their idealized counterparts, Venus and the Sun, in the second stanza of the prologue. Figuratively, Troilus ascends and Cresseid descends in a counter reflection of Venus rising and the Sun setting. In terms of human suffering, it matters little if the Sun replaces the star of night or Venus replaces Phebus, the light of day. The omnipotent force of the continual cyclical operation of nature invalidates the value of either faithlessness or constancy. The narrator's words in reference to nature -- "And causit me remufe aganis my will" (21) -- defines the helplessness of the human will. He emphasizes the cruel and implacable side of nature in the prologue's first stanza, with descriptions of spring as "ane doolie sessoun" (1). Instead of warmth and renewal, there is the "northin wind" (17) that "blastis bitterly" (19).<sup>15</sup> The artful balance of "Aries" with "Lent" in one line (5) gives determinism the edge over the Augustinian belief in free will. The suggested implication, that a person's place in the given order of things, as a rational being or a sensual creature, is decided by the stars, is enforced throughout the poem by the complimentary images of the narrator, Cresseid, and Troilus.<sup>16</sup>



Catholic Christianity teaches that men receive the fate they call into existence through their will. The narrator confirms, by his own image and those represented in his allegorical story, an idea of fate created by nature and imposed by Fortune. In the two instances when his personality intrudes directly within the plot (323-329; 610-616), the narrator displays a hidden sense of this injustice. He calls upon "cruell Saturne" (323) to "withdraw thy sentence" (327) in order to underline ironically the unalterable course of natural processes. His final moral is placed at the end of the poem to cover by its structural appearance (it has the form of a traditional warning) a deep and cynical fatalism. The similarity between it and the final stanza (461-469) of Cressoid's "Complaint" equates reason with the senses, and in so doing, illustrates the futility of reason. Henryson, unlike Chaucer, does not provide his narrator with any way of testing the objectivity of his vision. There is no structural simulacrum for eternity to place the time-oriented story in perspective. Henryson's narrator remains a prisoner of the subjective polarities of his mind because of the objective structural units he uses to communicate his thoughts.

This explains the large amount of space devoted to the iconographic detail and gestures of the planetary gods. They take up 202 lines out of a total of 610, a little less than a third of the poem.<sup>17</sup> Their allegorical action is juxtaposed between Cressoid's two image-summing actions.



There, the gods represent the unalterable forces of time and nature.<sup>18</sup> They spatialize in their images the cyclical motion of time and nature and display their ultimate futility and sterility. The narrator's allusions to Lent, in the prologue, suggests the idea of Christianity in the background of the poem, while his portrayal of the planetary gods and their functions, in the body of the poem, deny its basic tenets. For the narrator, time is no Christ-directed progression<sup>19</sup> towards a contemplation of the beatitude but a "cruell" recurrence in nature. The parade of Gods in Cresseid's dream illustrates this idea. They are the eternal emblems of a determined order.<sup>20</sup> The past and the future will be the same as the present.<sup>21</sup>

The details that mark the appearance of the gods are chosen carefully to illuminate the narrator's thematic pattern. At first glance the exchange of traditional iconographic items, such as Saturn's bow and "flanis" (167) for his more usual sickle, is confusing, but once the whole pattern is revealed, the confusion is ended.<sup>22</sup> The total effect of the gods and their appearance is one of overwhelming power and malignancy. For example, medieval astrologers believed that the conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, is a heavenly sign for earthly catastrophies.<sup>23</sup> In Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, the simple conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the moon's house (III, 624-625) is enough to bring about the chance rain storm that decides





the lovers' fate. In this poem, Saturn has a bow and arrows, Jupiter has a spear, and Mars bears a curved knife as well as a sword. Their sinister weapons in conjunction match the intention of the punishment they plan for Cresseid.<sup>24</sup>

Cresseid's particular sins, her sensuality and her reproach to the gods, are implied in the colors worn by these gods. For instance, Jupiter's garments are "grene" (178) and his hair is "goldin" (177). Green is the color for amorous passion and yellow is the color of hostility.<sup>25</sup> Together, they belie Jupiter's "amiable" (169) looks. When these motifs are added to the descriptions concerning Mars, the pattern of Cresseid's fatal crimes is outlined. Mars' likeness to a "bair" (193), his "reid visage" (191), and his ire, link the sensuality of the pig, or boar, with the color of blood and martyrdom, and the hostile emotion of anger. Furthermore, Saturn's person, which is clothed in grey tatters and decorated with ice and "hailstanis" (168) mirrors Cresseid's future condition as a leper: her rage, the cold of disease in place of warm health, and her final end in a grave covered by "ane tomb of merbell grey" (603).<sup>26</sup> The moon, Cynthia is also dressed in grey. She, along with Saturn, pronounce judgement over Cresseid, and to her, in her person as Diane, Cresseid commends her soul. Moreover, the addition of "spottis blak" (260) to the moon's costume is supposed to indicate the nature of Cresseid's





disease as leprosy.<sup>27</sup>

Some critics have suggested that leprosy is merely a euphemistic way of describing syphilis in this poem.<sup>28</sup> Syphilis is consistent with Cresseid's fortune, and may be implied indeed, by the narrator choosing another disease so similar in diagnosis. It is in accordance with the narrator's sense of irony: his pretended humility acting as a facade for his vision of injustice. However, as leprosy was considered a venereal disease in medieval and renaissance times, it accords well enough with the intention of the poem.<sup>29</sup> It emphasizes the ultimate cruelty in the natural process of decay and death.

Upon examining the structure of the poem more carefully, one might note that the iconography of the other three gods, the Sun, Venus and Mercury further underlines the motif of determinism which exists behind the images of decay and death. The Sun, "fair Phœbus" (197), presents in himself and his horses, the alchemic colors arrayed in reverse from gold through red, white, and black.<sup>30</sup> The process of transmuting gold back into raw material cannot but refer to Cresseid's reverse of fortune from health to disease and from life into death. The additional allusion to "Phaeton" (205) emphasizes the destructive powers of the Sun in reference to his mythological ride into near disaster.<sup>31</sup> After him, comes Venus. She represents inconstancy and the idea of Fortune.<sup>32</sup> Like



Jupiter, she has golden hair but her dress is "half grene, the uther half sabill blak" (221). Green and black together signify mutability.<sup>33</sup> This idea is reinforced with the iconographic gestures of "ane eye lauch, and with the uther weip" (231). The "serpent" (228) aspect of her character completes the picture with an allusion to Eve and the Fall. Thus Venus' image represents the personified force that imposes Cresseid's fate. Furthermore, it is against Venus and her son, Cupide, that Cresseid directs her reproach. The last god in this parade of divinities is "Mercurius" (239). In his "skarlot gown" (250) and with his speeches "Richt eloquent and full of rethorie" (240), he steps forth as the speaker of the parliament. This role agrees with his Arabic and medieval astrological image as a scribe and a bishop.<sup>34</sup> Here, the narrator specifically calls him a "Doctour in Phisick" (250). The contrast between Mercury's former ecclesiastic position, with its duties to cure spiritual ills, and his present image, as a doctor of the body's ills, is another example of the narrator's subversive irony and dark comedy:

Boxis he bair with fine electuairis,  
 And sugerit syropis for digestioun,  
 Spycis belangand to the pothecairis,  
 With mony hailsum sweit confectroun;  
 Doctour in Phisick cled in ane skarlot gown,  
 And furrit weill-as sic ane aucht to be-  
 Honest and gude, and not ane word culd lie. (246-252)

The iconographic pattern described by these gods and the frieze effect of their parade in Cresseid's dream is



a small reflection of the total thematic and structural design of the poem. The gods fence off the closed world of the narrator's philosophic ideas. Everything is explained in terms of matter and there is no release into liberating values. Everything is explained in the context of one man's mind and there is no release into another consciousness to balance the picture.





Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual  
desolations; even all that the enemy  
hath done wickedly in the sanctuary (Ps. 74:3).

(1) In Troilus and Cressida, Shakespeare experiments with the dramatic form.<sup>1</sup> He opposes inorganic plot structures against an organic development of theme. From the major sources of his subject, the narrative poems of Chaucer and Henryson, he borrows many structural techniques.<sup>2</sup> For example, he uses Chaucer's allegorical method to establish the character and explain the actions of his personages. Troilus is a Courtly Lover in the love plot and a Chivalric Knight in the war plot. Shakespeare develops the Adamic paradigm to focus the relationship between the two plots and the common destiny that involves Troilus' love affair and Troy's fall. He retains many of Chaucer's scenes and thematic motifs in full or in part. In Act I, scene ii, Pandarus attempts to persuade Cressida to look with favor upon Troilus, who passes on review in the street below her. In Act IV, scene iv, Troilus escorts Cressida to the gates of Troy and gives her into Diomedes' custody. Corruption is the thematic thread that connects the private and public relationships. Cressida's father, Calchas, deserts to the Greeks. Her uncle, Pandarus, arranges her liaison with Troilus. And Cressida, herself, proves faithless to her Trojan lover. At the end of the



play, *Troilus*, as in Chaucer's version, is committed to battle through despair. From Henryson, Shakespeare borrows the structural limitation of time within the space of history. The plot progresses in a horizontal frieze of characters and events. For example, *Troilus* and *Cressida* finish as figural types for constancy and faithlessness. Their fate illustrates Shakespeare's developing ideas on the nature of the human condition.

The framework of the play blends the spatial structures of both Chaucer and Henryson. Shakespeare uses Henryson's method of employing an historic incident to demonstrate a developing dramatic vision. This method focuses attention on the pattern of time. It emphasizes the process of time rather than the relationship of time to God and eternity.<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare is not so interested in the actuality of the events surrounding the fall of Troy as the medieval interpretation given to them. Thus he picks up, almost intact, the general outline of Chaucer's classical story, with its pagan characters and place, and its medieval dress of courtly love and knighthood. But instead of building a hierarchial structure of Boethian perspectives from the relationships constructed between the different parts of the double plot, Shakespeare develops a horizontal juxtaposition of historical levels of understanding. The war plot represents the literal and historical facts of the play. It projects the public results of the medieval



idea of disorder.<sup>4</sup> Reason is subjugated by sensuality, and Trojan and Greek, alike, mirror the effects of moral confusion.<sup>5</sup> The love plot represents an allegorical level of understanding. It is the personal microcosm of a political macrocosm.<sup>6</sup> It projects the effects of corruption on private ideals of conduct and honor. In scene ii of Act III and scene v of Act IV, the double plot reaches its separate climaxes. The resulting scenes of recognition in Act V describes the final and moral level of historical understanding.

The prologue and the epilogue define the limits of these horizontal perspectives. The first states the theme and the form of presentation:

Now expectation, tickling skittish spirits,  
 On one and other side, Trojan and Greek,  
 Sets all on hazard; and hither am I come  
 A prologue arm'd, but not in confidence  
 Of author's pen or actor's voice, but suited  
 In like conditions as our argument,  
 To tell you, fair beholders, that our play  
 Leaps o'er the vaunt and firstlings of those broils,  
 Beginning in the middle, starting thence away  
 To what may be digested in a play.  
 Like or find fault; do as your pleasures are;  
 Now good or bad, 'tis but the chance of war.  
 (The Prologue, 20-31)

Here Shakespeare establishes the only objective aspect of the moral perspective, outside of the action but still within the framework of the play.<sup>7</sup> From this temporal focus the double plot issues to develop the theme. Its dramatic form adapts the narrative techniques by stripping them to their bare time and action structures. Because there is





no narrator, the war plot must provide the backdrop of rational conceptions as well as the sensual immediacy of their public illustrations. The love plot presents the private illustrations. In both plots, the "representational" and "illustrative" scenes follow each other in a sequential and unilateral pattern.<sup>8</sup> They represent the objective correlatives of emotions, not the refractions of reality.<sup>9</sup> They also represent the Adamic paradigm that underpins the relationship between Troilus and Cressida, and centers the source of private and public corruption in the character flaws of the individual personalities.<sup>10</sup> It is Paris' appetite that dictates the rape and kidnapping of Helen, which in turn, dictates Troy's foreign policy and calls the war into existence (II,ii, 72-96; 146-162). Carnality in Troy and vanity in the Greek camp overturn rational policy and impose the disorder of the senses. Philosophically, Chance becomes the functional catalyst of the action.

Awakening to this condition, Troilus prophesies the destruction of Troy. His words articulate the irrational character of his despair:

Hector is gone.  
 Who shall tell Priam so, or Hecuba?  
 Let him that will a screech-owl aye be call'd  
 Go in to Troy and say there, "Hector's dead!"  
 There is a word will Priam turn to stone,  
 Make wells and Niobes of the maids and wives,  
 Cold statues of the youth, and, in a word,  
 Scare Troy out of itself. But, march away.  
 Hector is dead; there is no more to say.  
 Stay yet. You vile abominable tents,  
 Thus proudly pight upon our Phrygian plains,









affirms that "Grecian tents do stand / Hollow upon this plain" (I,iii, 79-80). When Hector picks it up in Act II, scene ii, he emphasizes its second definition:

The wound of peace is surety,  
Surety secure; but modest doubt is call'd  
The beacon of the wise, the tent that searches  
To th' bottom of the worst. (14-17)

The two meanings of this pun underpin and reflect the play's theme. The corruption present in the Greek and Trojan world is centered in the men who live within their tents of war and behind the façade of the military honors and customs. They are like the corruptive matter found festering in open wounds. Hence the application and usefulness of the second part of the pun on "tents". It colors the meaning of Achilles' vanity that will allow him to sulk in his tent and refuse to fight because of a private grudge. When Troilus comes face to face with the faithlessness of his young mistress in Act V, scene ii, he discovers her making love to Diomedes in her father's tent. Finally in his last speech, Troilus takes up this pun once more, and emphasizing its second meaning, he underlines his awareness of the abyss of nothingness. Both connotations reaffirm the corruption of the Greek and Trojan world, and in Troilus' last words, give an ironic kind of value to his knowledge of his coming death. In the public sphere, the Greeks are the probe that seeks out Troy's life. But Troilus absorbs his share of the guilt and necessary expiation, as well.



Because of the manner of his self-discovery which can only end with death, his constancy in revenge makes him an ethical image that creates its own nobility.<sup>13</sup> He faces death without the comfort of the old illusions. At the end of his speech, Troilus looks upon Pandarus and rejects him as the figural image for private dissipation, just as he rejects Achilles, that "great-siz'd coward," the figural image for public dishonor: "Hence, broken! lackey! Ignomy and shame/Pursue thy life, and live aye with they name!" (V,ii, 33-34)

In the epilogue, Pandarus gives his reposte. In doing this, he steps outside of the play's framework and into the actuality of the audience's world. The juxtaposition of his actual present with the play's presence in the past, occupied by Troilus, finalizes the moral perspective.<sup>14</sup> In the style of Henryson, Pandarus becomes an iconographic image. He makes a rather obvious connection between the corruption and treachery residing in the contemporary world. He speaks for those who react to the results of the operation of Chance by becoming images of experience that create their own ignobility. He represents the ethical opposite to Troilus' paradoxical acceptance and defiance of his fate; and for this play, perhaps, Shakespeare's idea of the more probable alternative:





Good traders in the flesh, set this in your painted clothes:

As many as be here of Pandar's hall,  
Your eyes, half out, weep out at Pandar's fall;  
Or if you cannot weep, yet give some groans,  
Though not for me, yet for your aching bones.  
Brethren and sisters of the hold-door trade,  
Some two months hence my will shall here be  
made.

It should be now, but that my fear is this,  
Some galled goose of Winchester would hiss.  
Till then I'll sweat and seek about for cures,  
And at that time bequeath you my diseases. (V,ii, 46-57)



(2) The juxtaposition of the final speeches of Troilus and Pandarus illustrates, as images, the still developing ideas of Shakespeare's philosophic theories. In Troilus and Cressida, he is working with a general plot outline already well defined. Furthermore, he leans heavily upon many narrative structures employed by Chaucer and Henryson. From the former poet, he translates the allegorical technique of character definition. He uses it to describe Troilus, in that character's pivotal position, which relates the two plots with one another.<sup>15</sup> In the love plot, Troilus is a Courtly Lover. One of his speeches in Act I, scene i, defines him adequately, if briefly, in this role:

Call here my varlet; I'll unarm again.  
 Why should I war outside the walls of Troy,  
 That find such cruel battles here within?  
 Each Trojan that is master of his heart,  
 Let him to field; Troilus, alas! hath none. (1-5)

In the war plot, Troilus makes another speech, in Act II, scene ii, which defines him as a Chivalric Knight:

Why, there you touch'd the life of our design.  
 Were it not glory that we more affected  
 Then the performance of our heaving spleens,  
 I would not wish a drop of Trojan blood  
 Spent more in her defence. But, worthy Hector,  
 She is a theme of honour and renown,  
 A spur to valiant and magnanimous deeds  
 Whose present courage may beat down our foes,  
 And fame in time to come canonize us;  
 For, I presume, brave Hector would not lose  
 So rich advantage of a promis'd glory  
 As smiles upon the forehead of this action  
 For the wide world's revenue. (194-205)

But Shakespeare has no narrator, and therefore, no distancing principle, to organize the different impressions of the



allegorical images into a full and three dimensional quality of character. He intends these allegorical masks to describe Troilus in his traditional images. He does not use them, as Chaucer does, to emphasize the public and private qualities of an individual, or to represent the moral conflict in his hero. Shakespeare's Troilus relates his two roles, which are defined by his two allegorical images, so closely that there can be no possible room for a conflict. His masks are simply a means to objectify his emotions, set into play, by events.<sup>16</sup> When he discovers Cressida's faithlessness, he ceases to be either Courtly Lover or Chivalric Knight. He turns, instead, and attempts to dissuade Hector from his addiction to fair play, urging unconditional and total war:

Troilus: Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you,  
Which better fits a lion than a man.

Hector: What vice is that, good Troilus? Chide  
me for it.

Troilus: When many times the captive Grecian falls,  
Even in the fan and wind of your great sword,  
You bid them rise, and live.

Hector: O, 'tis fair play.

Troilus: Fool's play, by heaven, Hector.

Hector: How now! how now!

Troilus: For th' love of all the gods,  
Let's leave the hermit Pity with our mothers,  
And when we have our armours buckled on,  
The venom'd vengeance ride upon our swords,  
Spur them to ruthless work, rein them from ruth.  
(V,iii, 37-48)



Thus Troilus displays his image as the Avenging Warrior.

From Henryson, Shakespeare borrows a unilateral allegorical technique. His dramatic format demands a sequentially direct representation, and therefore, a single image characterization is easier to adapt to theatrical conventions. Thus, in the war plot, Ulysses is a figural image for Worldly Wisdom, or Hector is an image for the epitome of knighthood, or Thersites, Pandarus' bitter Greek counterpart, is the Court Jester.<sup>17</sup> In the love plot, Troilus, Cressida, and Pandarus assume their several fixed dignities. Pandarus, in mock ceremony, plights the lovers with this description of their little group<sup>18</sup>:

Go to, a bargain made; seal it, seal it, I'll be the witness. Here I hold your hand, here my cousin's. If ever you prove false one to another, since I have taken such pains to bring you together, let all pitiful goers-between be called to the world's end after my name; call them all Pandars. Let all constant men be Troiluses, all false women Cressids, and all brokers-between Pandars! Say, amen. (III,ii, 204-212).

Allegorical characterizations are necessarily rigid and need a highly stylized form to frame them properly. Shakespearean drama does not provide such a form. Consequently, when Shakespeare uses inorganic plot structures to develop an organic theme, there are abrupt inconsistencies in the character reversals.<sup>19</sup> For example, as in Chaucer, there are two allegorical images that define Troilus' character in terms of the double plot. But, when Troilus discovers Cressida's faithlessness, he rejects his past character, and





assumes a new image as an Avenging Destiny. The transition between Troilus' masks, as a Courtly Lover and a Knight, and his mask, as the Avenging Warrior, is awkward because the allegorical structures are used to emphasize the rapidity of the action and the immediacy of its sensational impact. Working within the boundaries of a dramatic and naturalistic genre, Shakespeare has to telescope the borrowed material to what his allegorical figures can say in direct speeches.

Five brief lines characterize Troilus as a Courtly Lover in Act I, scene i, and several fairly short speeches characterize him as a Chivalric Knight in Act II, scene ii. This is all that remains of Chaucer's leisurely paced representation of his courtly hero in Books I and II of Troilus and Criseyde. In Book III, Chaucer's Troilus, in at least two love scenes, sings a lovely aube to the dawn, expressing his distress at the brevity of the night. In Shakespeare's play, these lyrics are reduced to four lines:

O Cressida! but that the busy day,  
Wak'd by the lark, hath rous'd the ribald crows,  
And dreaming night will hide our [joys] no longer,  
I would not from thee. (IV, ii, 8-11)

Scene iv of Act IV shows Troilus saying goodbye to his lady, and expressing a suspicion of her constancy that Chaucer's prince makes only in passing at his farewell with Criseyde (IV, 1440-1470). It takes all of Book V to convince Troilus of her perfidy. For Shakespeare's purposes, the



tragic awakening of his hero must take place within the comparatively short space of two scenes. The emphasis is on the action not on the character. Therefore, his goodbye scene has Troilus reiterating his allegorical images, both founded on the virtue of constancy, in the emblematic emphasis favored by Henryson:

Cressida: My lord, will you be true?

Troilus: Who? I? Alas, it is my vice, my fault.  
 While others fish with craft for great opinion,  
 I with great truth catch mere simplicity;  
 Whilst some with cunning gild their copper crowns,  
 With truth and plainness I do wear mine bare.  
 (IV,iv, 103-108)

As a result of narrative absence, the transitions are made by statements not explanations. When Troilus discovers Cressida's worthlessness, demonstrated for him in scene ii of Act V, he recoils in fury, and in the breadth of one speech states the rapid process of his own character reversal:

Not the dreadful spout  
 Which shipmen do the hurricano call,  
 Construng'd in mass by the almighty [sun].  
 Shall dizzy with more clamour Neptune's ear  
 In his descent than shall my prompted sword  
 Falling on Diomedes. (V,ii, 171-176)

In an even more awkward transition, Shakespeare creates his Cressida in the allegorical terms of a Chaucerian Courtly Lady and a Henrysonian Strumpet.<sup>20</sup> Her allegorical images are not as clearly separated as Troilus' because she occupies a position in only one plot. Further, her character in this plot is more equivocal than Troilus'. It is very difficult to translate the ambiguity, which is the essence of Chaucer's



heroine, into the dramatic presentation of two allegorical images. Therefore, these two images almost seem to represent two different characters. In Act I, scene ii, Cressida banters with Pandarus in a liberal and lascivious fashion, very out of character with Chaucer's gentle lady (ii, 78-595). Here is an excerpt from their conversation:

Pandarus: You are such another woman. One knows not at what ward you lie.

Cressida: Upon my back, to defend my belly; upon my wit, to defend my wiles; upon my secrecy, to defend my honesty; my mask, to defend my beauty; and you, to defend all these; and at all these wards I lie, at a thousand watches.  
(232-288)

Still, Shakespeare's heroine exhibits some genuine nobility of character and an evident tenderness in her love scenes with Troilus (III,ii; IV,iv). So much so, that her behavior with the Greek generals, in scene v of Act IV, and Ulysses' description of her character, comes with a considerable shock:

Fie, fie upon her!  
There's a language in her eye, her cheek, her lip;  
Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out  
At every joint and motive of her body.  
O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue,  
that give [accosting] welcome ere it comes,  
And wide enclasp the tables of their thoughts  
To every tickling reader! set them down  
For sluttish spoils of opportunity  
And daughters of the game. (54-63)

Troilus' assertion, in lines 137 to 176 of scene ii, Act V, that there are two Cressidas, Diomedes' and his own true lady, seems nearly accurate.<sup>21</sup> Dividing her character





between two allegorical images deprives Cressida's ruin of that tragedy implicit in Chaucer's rendition of the same event.

The very awkwardness of the transitions however, calls attention to the gap between one allegorical image and another, and between one inorganic plot structure and another. These gaps represent the equivocal and ironical element in the development of the play's theme. Because of these gaps, the allegorical images, and the actions related to such images, contrast and compare with one another to provide several possible interpretations of their meaning and value within the whole framework of the play. For instance, Cressida can be read as a thorough-going little whore with a great talent for dissembling, or she can assume the guise of an innocent betrayed into the self-destructive role of a camp follower. In the latter formula, she recaptures some of the tragic potential of Chaucer's heroine. Furthermore, these gaps provide one way to combine inorganic structures in the creation of thematic tensions that are naturally inimical to each other.



(3) Shakespeare's theme, as in Chaucer's poem, is concerned with the division between reason and appetite. On the one hand, this division unleashes a moral confusion in both the Greek camp and the Trojan city, and, on the other, it unleashes the operation of Chance. It is not concerned, as Chaucer's theme is, with how a man or community may come to confuse a false love for a true one, but it is concerned with the death of ideals and the nihilism of corruption.<sup>22</sup> In both the war plot and the love plot, there is, at the beginning of the play, a general concensus among Greeks and Trojans alike, to agree that reason and appetite can be satisfied by the same means. Everyone winks at corruption and seeks by stratagems to maintain the façade of their chivalric and courtly codes of conduct. But when Chance deprives them of their desires, their indigenous brutality is revealed. No ideal or value is worth the homage payed to it.<sup>23</sup> And this inward corruption changes chivalric combat into murder, a young woman into a whore, and Troilus' love into a longing for death. The development of the theme is organic in so far as it progresses from a rational theory of innocence to the actuality of sensual experience.<sup>24</sup> The relationship created through the juxtaposition of the different allegorical images within scenes and actions borrowed from inorganic and narrative plot structures, illustrate the different stages of the theme's progress.



For example, in some scenes of the war plot, several allegorically imaged characters represent and articulate the rational conceptions which are violated in their immediate and sensual actions. These scenes are representational.<sup>25</sup> In scene iii of Act I, Ulysses steps forth in the council, as the allegorical image of Worldly Wisdom, to explain the cause of the Greek weakness through which Troy still stands (137):

The heavens themselves, the planets, and this  
centre

Observe degree, priority, and place,  
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,  
Office, and custom, in all line of order;  
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol  
In noble eminence enthron'd and spher'd  
Admidst the other; whose med'cinable eyes  
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,  
And posts, like the commandment of asking,  
Sans check to good and bad. But when the  
planets

In evil mixture to disorder wander,  
What plagues and what portents! what mutiny!  
What raging of the sea! shaking of earth!  
Commotion in the winds! Frights, changes, horrors,  
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate  
The unity and married calm of states  
Quite from their fixture! O, when degree is shak'd,  
Which is the ladder to all high designs,  
Then enterprise is sick! How could communities,  
Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,  
Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,  
The primogenitive and due of birth,  
Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,  
But by degree, stand in authentic place?  
Take but degree away, untune that string,  
And, hark, what discord follows! Each thing  
meets

In mere oppugnancy. The bounded waters  
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores  
And make a sop of all this solid globe.  
Strength should be lord of imbecility,  
And the rude son should strike his father dead.  
Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,  
Between whose endless jar justice resides,



Should lose their names, and so should justice too.  
 Then everything includes itself in power,  
 Power into will, will into appetite;  
 And appetite an universal wolf,  
 So doubly seconded with will and power,  
 Must make perforce an universal prey,  
 And last eat up himself. (85-124)

Ulysses, then, suggests a plan to restore "the speciality of rule" (78) and impose once more the correct observation of "degree, priority, and place" (86). He proposes to have Ajax chosen as the Greek champion against Hector in the single combat requested by Troy. This, so reasons Ulysses, will kindle Achilles' pride to such a rage that he and his people will take up arms and actively make war on behalf of the Greek cause (310-392). Then several scenes follow which illustrate Ulysses' rationalizations. They demonstrate how Ulysses' cunning comes to nothing. In a world ruled by the senses, it is only the actual and immediate loss of his friend and lover, Patroclus, that spurs Achilles into battle (V,v, 17-42). Chance moves the action in this game.

In Act II, scene ii, Hector, the Trojan representative of the chivalric ideal, makes a speech similar to Ulysses' harangue on order, in which he pays his dues to the "moral laws/Of nature and of nations"(184-185):

Nature craves  
 All dues be rend'ed to their owners: now,  
 What nearer debt in all humanity  
 Than wife is to the husband? If this law  
 Of nature be corrupted through affection,  
 And that great minds, of partial indulgence





To their benumbed wills, resist the same,  
 Their is a law in each well-ord'ed nation  
 To curb those raging appetites that are  
 Most disobedient and refractory,  
 If Helen then be wife to Sparta's king,  
 As it is known she is, these moral laws  
 Of nature and of nations speak aloud  
 To have her back return'd. Thus to persist  
 In doing wrong extenuates not wrong,  
 But makes it much more heavy. Hector's opinion  
 Is this in way of truth; yet ne'ertheless,  
 My spritely brethren, I propend to you  
 In resolution to keep Helen still,  
 For 'tis a cause that hath no mean dependence  
 Upon our joint and several dignities. (II,ii, 173-193)

These last four lines, echo a kind of cunning, relative to Ulysses'. Indeed, Hector verifies Ulysses cynicism and proves that "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin" (III,iii, 175). Even though Hector fights a chivalric duel with Ajax, refusing to kill him because of his Trojan heritage (IV,v, 120-121), he falls victim to his own corruption in the end. The flash of "sumptuous armour" lures him into killing a fleeing enemy (V,vi).<sup>26</sup> When he stands over his fallen prey, Hector discovers under that fine armour a "most putrefied core" (V,viii, 1). In illustrative effect, Ulysses' power play undercuts the order his rhetoric defends, and Hector's actions emphasize the spurious quality of his moral logic.

In fact throughout the play, there is a running commentary underlining the inherent corruption of the Greek and Trojan social environment. Troilus' enthusiastic and idealistic speech defending the Trojan cause in scene ii of Act II, finishes on the common note of commercial



valuation.<sup>27</sup> Their cause is richer in "promis'd glory" (204) than is the worth of this "wide world's revenue" (206). In act IV, scene i, Paris discusses with Diomedes the value of Helen, the cause of all these wars. Diomedes denounces Helen as a whore and declares "She hath not given so many good words breath/As for her Greeks and Trojans suff'ered death" (73-74). Paris answers him in the jargon of the market place:

Fair Diomed, you do as chapmen do,  
Dispraise the thing that you desire to buy;  
But we in silence hold this virtue well,-  
We'll not commend what we intend to sell. (75-78)

The aura of corruption is so pervasive, that a young man like Troilus does not really detect its presence. Thus, he is satisfied to create himself in the traditional images of courtly love and the chivalric code of honor. Like Ulysses and Hector, his actions illustrate the thematic counterpoint between appearance and actuality, between the traditional image and present behavior. He does not see the contradiction inherent in his own behavior.<sup>28</sup> He begs the uncle of the girl he loves to arrange their illicit liaison (I,i). He hurries to leave her when their night of love is over (IV,ii, 1-20). When he must lose Cressida, he abjures her to be constant in a manner that undercuts his pretensions, as Courtly Lover, with its hurry and suspicion (IV,iv, 10-108). The climactic scene of the love plot forces Troilus to recognize what he refused before to credit as possible.



Moreover, the actual staging of this scene provides a dramatic version, in horizontal and sequential terms, of Chaucer's multi-consciousness. Representational and illustrative qualities are poised together. Within this one scene, there are four actions, along with their allegorical images, colliding with one another. There is Ulysses, as Worldly Wisdom, who, having failed to inspire a renewal in the war through the duel of Hector and Ajax, is now trying to employ Troilus in the same game. There is Thersites, the Greek Court Jester, gloating over this added verification of his favorite curses: "and war and lechery confound all" (II,iii, 82). There is Cressida, who changes her mask from Courtly Lady to Strumpet and realizes in this change the breaking point of the thematic contradiction. Troilus stares aghast, while the socially contrived harmony of reason and appetite demonstrates its inherent and inimical nature. His former masks, as Courtly Lover and Chivalric Knight, fall before Cressida's faithlessness, to be replaced later with his final mask as an Avenging Destiny. Here is an excerpt from this scene:

Thersites: Now the pledge; now, now, now!

Cressida: Here, Diomed, keep this sleeve.

Troilus: O beauty! where is thy faith?

Ulysses: My Lord,-

Troilus: I will be patient; outwardly I will.





Cressida: You look upon that sleeve; behold it well.  
He lov'd me-O false wench!.-Giv't me again.

Diomedes: Whose was't?

Cressida: It is no matter, now I have't again.  
I will not meet with you tomorrow night.  
I prithee, Diomed, visit me no more.

Thersites: Now she sharpens. Well said, whetstone!

Diomedes: I shall have it.

Cressida: What this?

Diomedes: Ay, that.

Cressida: O, all you gods! O pretty, pretty pledge!  
Thy master now lies thinking in his bed-  
Of thee and me, and sighs, and takes my glove,  
And gives memorial dainty kisses to it,  
As I kiss thee. May he not snatch it from me.  
He that takes that [doth take] my heart withal.

Diomedes: I had your heart before, this follow it.

Troilus: I did swear patience.

Cressida: You shall not have it, Diomed; faith, you  
shall not.  
I'll give you something else.

Diomedes: I will have this. Whose was it?

Cressida: It is no matter.

Diomedes: Come, tell me whose it was.

Cressida: 'Twas one's that lov'd me better than you  
will.  
But, now you have it, take it.

Diomedes: Whose was it?

Cressida: By all Diana's waiting-women<sup>29</sup> yond,  
And by herself, I will not tell you whose.

Diomedes: To-morrow will I wear it on my helm,  
And grieve his spirit that dares not challenge it



Troilus: Wert thou the devil, and wor'st it on thy  
horn,  
It should be challeng'd.

Cressida: Well, well, 'tis done, 'tis past. And yet it  
is not;  
I will not keep my word.

Diomede: Why, then, farewell;  
Thou shall never mock Diomed again.

Cressida: You shall not go. One cannot speak a  
word,  
But it straight starts you.

Diomede: I do not like this fooling

Thersites: Nor I, by Pluto; but that that likes not  
[you]pleases me best.

Diomede: What, shall I come? The hour?

Cressida: Ay, come:-O Jove!--do come.-I  
shall be plagu'd.

Diomede: Farewell till then. (V,ii, 65-106)

In this scene, the Adamic paradigm, underpinning Troilus and Cressida's relationship, surfaces to relate the allegorical and personal level of understanding, registered in the love plot, with the historical, literal, and public level of understanding, registered in the war plot. Although everyone pretends differently, the senses have ruled reason in both the Greek camp and the Trojan city. Therefore, their policies in love and war are directed by Chance. Visually, Troilus now grasps this truth and enters upon a moral level of understanding within the organic and progressive development of the theme. He discovers, as Hector does after him, that in his particular environment, value resides in the eye



of the beholder:

This she? no, this is Diomed's Cressida.  
 If beauty have a soul, this is not she.  
 If souls guide vows, if vows are sanctimony,  
 If there be rule in unity itself,  
 This is not she. (V,ii, 137-142)

Troilus does not succeed in denying the truth he sees. He recognizes the limits of the senses, especially those of the eye, "that most pure spirit of sense" (III,iii, 106), and like each character in the play, he discovers that he is imprisoned within these senses.<sup>30</sup> The horizontal and sequential limitations of action and time deprives everyone of any perception not founded therein. Values are dependent upon the perception of attributes not the recognition of substances. Although they still employ the language of medieval and hierarchial perspectives, they do not act upon them. They act upon what they see. Cressida takes the lover that present time offers her. Troilus rejects his courtly and chivalric facade for the mask of Avenger, and Hector will pursue the golden armour of his fleeing enemy until its "putrefied core" betrays him to his death.

Troilus' first reaction to this scene of discovery is one of frenzy. He curses "false Cressid" (178) and turns to active warfare in reaction to his psychic dislocation. In scene iii of Act V, he urges Hector to forego his chivalric manners and fight to the death. Then follows a rapid series of war scenes, in which Troilus assiduously pursues Diomedes.



In scene iv, he and Diomedes have at each other with adolescent intensity, while Thersites' comments emphasize the aspect of buffoonery that underlies such earnest combat staged in the name of a whore.<sup>31</sup> At this point, the value of Cressida and Helen are the same and war is a debasing experience, no longer "a theme of honour and renown" (II, ii, 199). With the manner of Hector's death, the climatic scenes (vi and viii of Act V) of the war plot are concluded and Troilus' recognition is complete. In scene X, he recovers a certain tragic nobility along with his final discovery of the ultimate debasement that issues from the nihilism of corruption. Hector "at the murderer's horse's tail,/In beastly sort, dragg'd through the shameful field" (V,x, 4-5), becomes a metaphor for the expiation Troilus desires to consume the clarity of his moral perception.

He prays for an end:

Sit gods, upon your thrones, and smile at Troy!  
I say, at once let your brief plagues be mercy,  
And linger not our sure destructions on! (7-9)

His own energies of destruction are now turned away from Diomedes, and personal revenge, and aimed at Achilles, and a public vengeance.

The play ends with Pandarus and exchanges a tragic vision for an ironic one.<sup>32</sup> Such a change emphasizes the parabolic effect which the organic development of the theme gives to the traditional plot with its cyclic tragic structure: "Fro wo to wele and after out of joie".<sup>33</sup>





Throughout the plot, there are elements that continually undercut the tragic action, that confine events to the space of history, and that develop the theme in a linear direction. The great men of this particular moment in history, as well as the minor members of the cast, are all subject to the forces that move history.<sup>34</sup> They do not have, in effect, a free will. As in Henryson's poem, the whole structure of this play is directed towards illustrating the futility of the choices that govern either vice or virtue. In order to demonstrate this determinism, Shakespeare introduces the absurdity of the operation of Chance in place of Henryson's iconographic parade of gods. For example, Ulysses, the schemer, constructs a great plan to trick Achilles into participating once more in the war. Then, Ulysses, in pursuing his ends, provides his own measure for the failure of that scheme.<sup>35</sup> In Act III, scene iii, while attempting to place another wedge against the obstacle of Achilles' vanity, Ulysses explains to him that value must be seen to be believed, and that furthermore, "The present eye praises the present object" (180). Ironically enough, it is only when the "present object" most pleasing to Achilles, Patroclus, is killed, that he, Achilles, is moved to action. This undercurrent of sinister buffoonery constantly saps the tragic element and replaces it with the ironic measures of the strictly human dimension. Princes speak in the language current to the market place.



And finally, the greatest knight, Hector allows his "present eye" to follow a "present object", like the golden armour of a fleeing enemy, only to be killed in a shameful fashion when he stands unarmed over that object of his spurious victory.<sup>36</sup>

As appearances govern value, so do events govern the choices that provoke action. The first is never equal to the second. Cressida's display of faithlessness (she gives Diomedes Troilus' sleeve) is enough to send Troilus to the wars in an absolute fury. There he sees the "putrefied core" in the fall and degradation of Hector. After that, he reaches a more ennobling perspective which has, as its result, a longing for death. Troilus is part of "what's past and what's to come" and will be strwn with the other "husks/And formless ruin of oblivion" (Iv,v, 166-167). For him, death will be a release from the deceptions of appearance and the process of time.

The juxtaposition of Pandarus with Troilus at the end of the play, emphasizes the ironic element in the foreground of the action. It accentuates the unilinear progression of the theme. Between the contradiction of appearance and actuality, Troilus is awakened from the dreams of adolescent ideals to a glimpse into the abyss, where the platonic forms of reality have been replaced with nothingness. As most people cannot bear nothingness, they opt out for the shadow plays of "lechery and war". Thus the double plot, within



this play, contrasts a literal perspective with an allegorical perspective to achieve a kind of metaphysical insight that refuses to go beyond time and the visible. There is no eighth sphere for Shakespeare's Troilus. There is only a continuation and an endurance of the human dimension in the image of Pandarus. The presence of inorganic plot structures emphasize the new role that action has in time.





In conclusion, the three authors considered here, Chaucer, Henryson, and Shakespeare, have built their tragedies around the figural image of the wheel of Fortune, but their different times have dictated different interpretations concerning this great wheel. For Chaucer, the wheel is an emblem of time and history ordering the patterns of men's fortunes on earth. Chaucer's Troilus is bound by the ubiquitous operation of this wheel. Yet in the epilogue he is suddenly free of it. Here is the symbiotic paradox of Chaucer's mind, and perhaps, the medieval mind. Men may be bound by their bodies to the earth and Fortune, but they are free, through their souls, of the confines of space and time.<sup>1</sup> This theologic premise, when it is translated into Chaucer's aesthetic practices, confers a kind of detachment between the senses and the intellect.<sup>2</sup> It allows Chaucer to build characters and scenes in such a way as to enlist the sympathies of the reader without jeopardizing his judgement.<sup>3</sup> With a casual reference that enhances its omniscience and freedom from temporal bondage, Chaucer introduces this detachment into the narrative as clues pointing out the limits and, therefore, the finite quality of Fortune and nature. This is what confers liberty upon Troilus' individuality. Time and nature can only hold him within the boundaries of their jurisdiction, and beyond them, he can escape into the freedom of eternity. The following quotations are three stanzas



from Troilus and Criseyde, demonstrating this casual inclusion of the cyclical nature of Fortune in the image of the stair and the temporary nature of time in the image of the garden that is everywhere implied throughout the narration. I have underlined the words I wished to emphasize here:

O blynde world, O blynde entencioun!  
 How often falleth al the effect contraire  
 Of surquidrie and foul presumptioun;  
 For kaught is proud, and kaught is debonaire.  
 This Troilus is clomben on the staire,  
 And litel weneth that he moot descenden;  
 But alday failleth thing that fooles wenden. (I, 211-217)

Adown the steyre anonright tho she wente  
 Into the garden, with hire neeces thre,  
 And up and down ther made many a wente,  
 Flexippe, she, Tharbe, and Antigone,  
 To pleyen, that it joye was to see;  
 And other of hire women, a gret route,  
 Hire folowede in the garden al abowte. (II, 813-819)

Deiphebus gan this lettre for t'onfolde  
 In ernest greet; so did Eleyne the queene;  
 And romyng outward, faste it gonne byholde,  
 Downward a steire, into a herber greene.  
 This ilke thing they reddon hem bitwene,  
 And largely, the mountance of an houre,  
 Thei gonne on it to reden and to poure. (II, 1702-1708)

In Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida, the great wheel of Fortune is a symbol of man's imprisonment within the confines of bone and flesh and space and time. It has become, in the words of Jan Kott, the "Grand Mechanism".<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare's Troilus is bound to this renaissance wheel until he is flung off it, into that void of awareness and existential despair, preceeding his death. The confining power of time and history defines anew the conflict between



an ironic human dimension and a tragic desire for unlimited power, which is articulated by Troilus' words about the illusions of love: "This is the monstrosity in love,/ lady, that the will is finite and the execution/confin'd, - that the desire is boundless and the act a/slave to limit" (III,ii, 87-90)

Shakespeare's tragic vision issues from a comic sensibility far more bitter and less delicate than Chaucer's. One of the many Shakespearean commentators pin points this fact most explicitly:

Such comedy is essentially realistic and amoral, yet at the same time supremely humanistic. The archetype action is man's confrontation with nothingness. Man's ideas having been found wanting, man's existence alone remains an existence highly personal, incapable of being attached to attitudes or groups. At this level of existence, honor is vestigial, love is sensational, philosophy is mere advantage. Others are self-interested, and even a man like Thersites who condemns mankind does so not in the way of truth but in the way of pleasure. Since, in this cosmic universe, there is no god, the people cry out to themselves for answers to quintessential questions.<sup>5</sup>

Henryson may be one of the sources of this different sensibility. In his poem, The Testament of Cresseid, he refines Chaucer's multiple structural techniques and Boethian sense of perspective. Through his narrator, he focuses attention on a philosophic theory and the allegorical images necessary to illustrate it. He substitutes iconographic gesture for an evocation of substance and paves the way for Shakespeare's temporal emphasis on appearance as reality.





## FOOTNOTES

### Introduction

- 1 See The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.W. Robinson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), p. 386. Robert Henryson Poems, ed. Charles Elliott (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1963), p. x. Robert Henryson, The Testament of Cresseid, ed. Denton Fox (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1968). pp. 20-22. All subsequent references concerning the texts of Chaucer's and Henryson's works will be made from these editions.
- 2 See "A Note on the Sources of 'Troilus and Cresside', p. 192. Introduction," p. xxvi.
- 3 See "A Note on the Sources of 'Troilus and Cresside'," p. 192.
- 4 See Neilson and Hill, p. 312. All subsequent references concerning the texts of Shakespeare's works will be made from this edition.
- 5 See The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, p. 385.
- 6 See Robert Henryson Poems, p. xviii.
- 7 Ibid. pp. xx-xxi.
- 8 See "Introduction," p. 23.
- 9 I have certain reservations about Jordan. He uses an architectural theory of the twelfth century to describe an aesthetic practice in the literature of the fourteenth century.
- 10 See Testament of Cresseid, ed. Denton Fox, pp. 1-2.
- 11 Ibid. pp. 48-49.
- 12 See "The Knight's Tale," p. 679, note to line 2313.
- 13 See Robert M. Jordan, Chaucer and the Shape of Creation: The Aesthetic Possibilities of Inorganic Structure (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 29.

### Chapter I

- 1 See Robert M. Jordan, Chaucer & the Shape of Creation: The Aesthetic Possibilities of Inorganic Structure (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 64.





- 2 See Jordan, p. 96.
- 3 See Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition: A Study in Style & Meaning (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 129-130.
- 4 Dorothy L. Sayers, "Introduction" The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, The Florentine: Cantica I. Hell (Harmondsworth: Penguin Book Ltd., 1966), p. 13.
- 5 See Sayers, pp. 14-15.
- 6 See D.W. Robertson Jr., A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 473-474.
- 7 See Anton-Hermann Chroust, "The Metaphysics of Time and History in Early Christian Thought," New Scholasticism, 19 (1945), 326.
- 8 See Robertson Jr., A Preface to Chaucer p. 44.
- 9 See J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1954), p. 71.
- 10 Sayers, p. 11.
- 11 See Ernest Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 111 and 118.
- 12 See Jordan, p. 165.
- 13 Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. Richard Green (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962), p. 91.
- 14 See Curtius, p. 111 and 118.
- 15 See Jordan, p. 103.
- 16 See Boethius, p. 115.
- 17 See Muscatine, p. 133.
- 18 See Maurice Valency, In Praise of Love: An Introduction to the Love-Poetry of the Renaissance (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), pp. 150-151.



- 19 See C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 2.
- 20 Jordan, p. 99.
- 21 See Muscatine, p. 136 and 138.
- 22 See Lewis, pp. 172-173.
- 23 See Muscatine, p. 141.
- 24 See Lewis, p. 192.
- 25 See Ernest H. Wilkens, "Cantus Troili," ELH, 16 (September, 1949), 167-168.
- 26 See D.W. Robertson, Jr., "Chaucerian Tragedy," Chaucer Criticism: "Troilus and Criseyde" & The Minor Poems (Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 106 and 109.
- 27 Boethius, p. 41.
- 28 See Robertson, "Chaucerian Tragedy".
- 29 See Boethius, pp. 115-116.
- 30 See Jordan, p. 81.
- 31 See Jordan, p. 95.
- 32 See Boethius, p. 87.
- 33 See Valency, pp. 145-146.
- 34 See Valency, pp. 154-155.
- 35 See Robertson, Preface to Chaucer, p. 407.
- 36 See Muscatine, p. 154.
- 37 See Muscatine, p. 141.
- 38 See Muscatine, p. 145.
- 39 Boethius, p. 102.
- 40 See Valency, p. 61.
- 41 See Muscatine, p. 155.
- 42 See Lewis, p. 182.



- 43 See Boethius, pp. 23-24.

## Chapter 2

- 1 See Harold E. Toliver, "Robert Henryson: From 'Moralitas' to Irony," English Studies, 96, 302.
- 2 See A.C. Spearing, "'The Testament of Cresseid' and the 'High Concise Style'," Speculum, 375, 216 and 221.
- 3 See Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition: A Study in Style and Meaning (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 14-15.
- 4 See John MacQueen, Robert Henryson: A Study of the Major Poems (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 64.
- 5 See E. Duncan Aswell, "The Role of Fortune in 'The Testament of Cresseid'," P.Q., 46 and 473.
- 6 See Douglas Duncan, "Henryson's 'Testament of Cresseid'," Essays and Criticism, 11, 2 and 131.
- 7 See Henry James, "The Art of Fiction", The Portable Henry James ed. Morton Dauwen Zabel (Toronto: The Macmillan Comp. of Canada Limited, 1962), p. 405. See also Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man (University of Toronto, 1966), p. 37.
- 8 See Marshall W. Stearns, Robert Henryson (New York: Ans Press, Inc., 1966) pp. 78-80. Mr. Stearns indicates direct relationships between many of Chaucer's allegorical descriptions and those used by Henryson. The above quoted pages are merely one example.
- 9 See MacQueen, p. 86.
- 10 See Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. Richard Green (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962), p. 45.
- 11 I use the word "actuality" here because Cresseid, by her lack of intellect, is cut off from any understanding of reality in Platonic terms. She does not see things or events as models of ideal forms. For her, events are meaningless. She merely articulates those that happen to her.
- 12 See Toliver, 309.
- 13 See MacQueen, pp. 39-90.





- 14 See Tityana Moran, "The Meeting of the Lovers in the 'Testament of Cresseid'," Notes and Queries, 10, 1 (January, 1963), 11-12.
- 15 The traditional proem for a love allegory is the spring formula or nature introduction such as employed in the prologue of The Canterbury Tales. But it is also traditional to set a sad mood for a love allegory by using a winter introduction as Henryson has done in this case. For further information on this subject see Rosmond Tuve, Seasons and Months: A Study in a Tradition of Middle English Poetry (Paris: Librairie Universitaire S.A., 1933), p. 109.
- 16 See Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 48 and 66.
- 17 See Stearns, p. 70.
- 18 See Aswell, 475.
- 19 See Anton-Hermann Chroust, "The Metaphysics of Time and History in Early Christian Thought," New Scholasticism, 19 (1945), 325 and 327.
- 20 Even St. Thomas Aquinas admitted that men, who directed their lives in terms of their passions, lead existences directed by the stars. See Seznec, p. 48.
- 21 See Aswell, 473.
- 22 See Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1964), pp. 134-135.
- 23 See Seznec, p. 52.
- 24 See Aswell, 476.
- 25 See J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries (New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1954), pp. 271-272.
- 26 See Stearns, pp. 75-77.
- 27 See Stearns, p. 95 and 96.



- 28 See Rowland Beryl, "The 'Seilmes Incurabili' in Henryson's 'Testament of Cressid'," ELH, 1, 175-177.
- 29 See Robert Henryson, Testament of Cressid, ed. Denton Fox, "Introduction" (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1968), p. 27 and 29.
- 30 See article on "Alchemy" in J.E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, trans. Jack Sage (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962).
- 31 See Stearns, p. 85.
- 32 See Aswell, 478.
- 33 See Sydney Harth, "Henryson Reinterpreted," Essays in Criticism, 11:4, 475.
- 34 See Seznec, pp. 159-161.

### Chapter 3

- 1 See Daniel Seltzer, "Introduction", The History of Troilus and Cressida (New York: The New American Library, 1963), p. 28.
- 2 See Seltzer, "A Note on the Sources of 'Troilus and Cressida'," The History of Troilus and Cressida, p. 191 and 192. Shakespeare uses Chaucer and Henryson's poems for the material related to the love plot. He uses Lydgate's Sage of Troie and Caxton's Recuyell of the Historyes of Troie for the material related to the war plot.
- 3 See J. Oates Smith, "Essence and Existence in Shakespeare's 'Troilus and Cressida,'" P.Q., 46, 168.
- 4 See Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1956), p. 386.
- 5 See Seltzer, "Introduction", p. xxxvii.
- 6 See E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (London: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 115.
- 7 See S.L. Bethell, Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (London: Staple Press, 1944), p. 86.
- 8 Bethell, p. 105.



- 9 See T.S. Eliot, "Hamlet and His Problems", Selected Essays: New Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960), p. 124, 125.
- 10 See Seltzer, "Introduction", p. xxxii.
- 11 See Seltzer, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.
- 12 The History of Troilus and Cressida, II,ii, note to line 16, p. 83.
- 13 See Seltzer, "Introduction", p. xxxvi.
- 14 See J.C. Oates, "The Ambiguity of 'Troilus and Cressida'", S.S., 17, 144.
- 15 See Bethell, p. 98.
- 16 See Bernard Beckerman, "The History of the Play", The Festival Shakespeare Troilus and Cressida (New York: MacMillan Company, 1967), p. 12.
- 17 See Bethell, p. 99.
- 18 See Mary Allen Rickey, "Twixt the Dangerous Shores: Troilus and Cressida Again," S.S., XV, 1, 5.
- 19 See Seltzer, "Introduction", p. xxviii.
- 20 See Seltzer, "Introduction", p. xxx-xxxi.
- 21 See Seltzer, "Introduction", p. xxxvi.
- 22 See Beckerman, pp. 18-20.
- 23 See J. Oates Smith, p. 167.
- 24 See Northrop Frye, Fools of Time: Studies in Shakespearean Tragedy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 69, 70.
- 25 See Bethell, p. 105.
- 26 See J.C. Oates, 145.
- 27 See J. Oates Smith, 169.
- 28 See Frye, p. 66.
- 29 Although Hyder E. Rollins in his essay "The Troilus - Cressida





Story From Chaucer to Shakespeare," PMLA, 32 (1917), 385-429, compares the various characteristics of each personage, as well as the various similar scenes, that occur in the versions of the Troilus and Criseyde story under examination in this thesis, he makes no mention of the allusions that all three authors make about Diane and chastity. Chaucer has Troilus, in line 731 of Book III, include Diane, the moon goddess of chastity, among a list of other divinities he is invoking to help him seduce Criseyde. In line 1464 of Book V, Cassandra describes, for Troilus, the ancestry of Diomedes. One of his grandparents, Meleagre, offended Diane by killing one of her sacred wild boars. Henryson picks up the sinister aspects about Diane that Chaucer has underlined, and in line 567, his Cresseid commends her soul to the care of Diane and the "waist woddis". Thus, when Shakespeare's Cressida alludes to Diane, as she does in this quoted instance, in the midst of actively attempting to hold the attentions of a new lover, the tone and meaning of this allusion appears to carry on the "black comedy" atmosphere inherited from Chaucer and Henryson.

- 30 See J. Oates Smith, 172.
- 31 See Jan Kott, Shakespeare Our Contemporary, trans. Boleslaw Taborski (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966), p. 75 and 79.
- 32 See Frye, p. 5.
- 33 See Frye, p. 3.
- 34 See Kott, p. 51.
- 35 See J. Oates Smith, 176-177.
- 36 See Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man (The University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp. 14-15.

### Epilogue

- 1 See The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, The Florentine: Cantica II, Purgatory, trans. Dorothy L. Sayers (Penguin Books, 1955), p. 211.
- 2 See Robert M. Jordan, Chaucer and the Shape of Creation: The Aesthetic Possibilities of Inorganic Structure (Cambridge: Howard University Press, 1967), p. 29.





- 3 See Donald R. Howard, "Literature and Sexuality: Book III of Chaucer's Troilus," Massachusetts Review, 3, 446 and 447.
- 4 See Jan Kott, Shakespeare Our Contemporary, trans. Boleslaw Taborski (New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1966), p. 41.
- 5 Shakespeare, The Festival Shakespeare Troilus and Cressida, ed. Bernard Beckerman and Joseph Papp (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 19, 20.



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